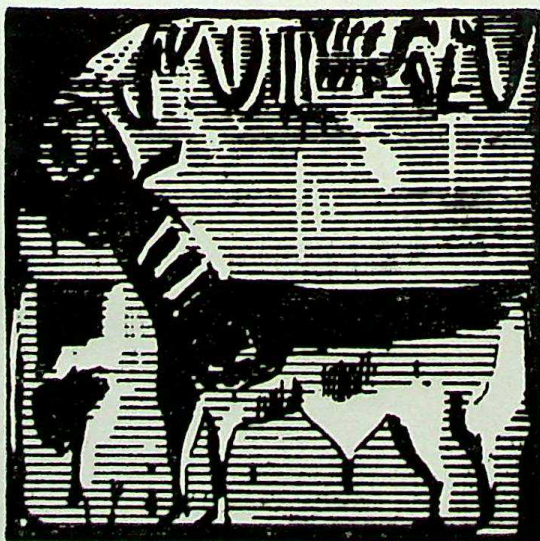


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No. 1

Architectural Affiliations of Early
Saurashtra Temples

It is now broadly conceded that the styles of temple architecture which originated round about the 5th-6th cent. A. D. in the peninsular south, were mainly of the Dravida order, from which, however, independent classes like the Pallava and Chalukya respectively rose in the south and western India. Inextricably related to both were the contemporary developments, namely, the Rashtrakuta, more allied to the southern Pallava class; as well as Hoysala and Solanki that rose in Mysore and Gujarat areas respectively, allied to the typical Chalukyan style. In any case, when the Chalukyan temple style was being evolved in the 5th-6th centuries A. D. the general shape of the *śikhara* had not been elaborated and perfected. The temple of Ladhkhan (c. 550 A. D.) and Durga temple (c. 600 A. D.) at Aihole have an essentially flat roof with what should be called a rudimentary *śikhara* above the cella which is not an integral part of the structure as a whole but more an adjunct. The contemporary efforts, of the Gupta zone of influence in Central India, whether in brick or in stone, as at Bhitargaon (c. 500 A.D.) or Deogadh (c. 550 A.D.) respectively, represent the two variant modes, namely, the oblong stepped inverted-boat shape and the square stepped pyramidal respectively but having similar structural principles. As far as the spread of the Chalukyan or Central Indian styles into Saurashtra are concerned, however, they had more or less equal influences, but owing to the integral nearness of the Chalukyan country, the early Saurashtra temples had taken more Chalukyan elements into them. The temple at Gop (pl. 1) which appears to be

one of the earliest structural temple in Saurashtra, shows many interesting features. The temple is datable to mid-7th century A. D.

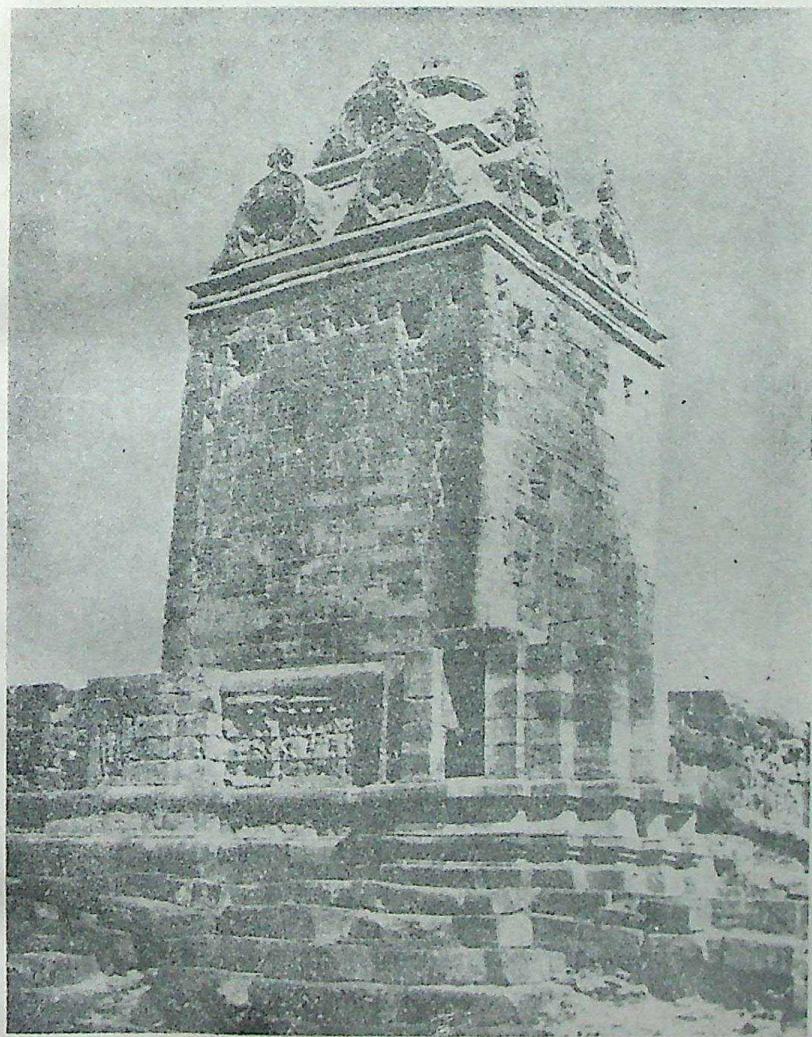
(1) It has a prominent raised plinth with opposed flights of steps on the front side reaching to the top in a landing.

(2) The main cella is a high oblong unit upon which a small receding spire rests.

(3) Compared to the height of the main cella, the spire is rather stunted.

(4) The spire combines the pyramidal and the barrel-shaped features producing a form which, while certainly appearing to be a gable-ended roof, is of course not functionally a gabled or multiple roof as Percy Brown mistook it to be.

It is in a gradually sloping square plan, whose every successive stage is decreasing and whose sides were adorned by Caitya facing, double in the lower stage and single in the upper stage. Unlike the Sankaracharya and other temples at Kashmir, with which Percy Brown classes it as a gable-roofed temple, it has no overhanging storey nor a structurally-knit gable projection. Indeed, the Caitya dormer is in reality an embellishing motif to relieve the pyramidal plainness of it, rather than a functional gable roof or multiple storeyed scheme. The Gop temple has again been referred to by the same writer as eventually contributing nothing to the style of building which followed. But we must note that in the Gop temple is shown almost the first effort (for that region) to raise the main shrine so high. On the other hand, its *śikhara* has a common link with the Aihole temple *śikhara* with only this difference that while the latter had shown a recessed plan, here it is a plain square plan. It is an almost exact rendering in three dimensions of one of the *śikhara* types shown in relief on either side of the Visvakarma cave façade at Ellora—a design which is also seen on the *kapota* frieze of the main entrance of Deogarh temple. The use of Caitya dormer motif is similar. In Gop, owing to the great height or mass given to the main cella walls and due to its plainness, the roof had been given



Pl. 1. Temple at Gop.



Pl. 2. Panel sculptures on the plinth fase, Gop.

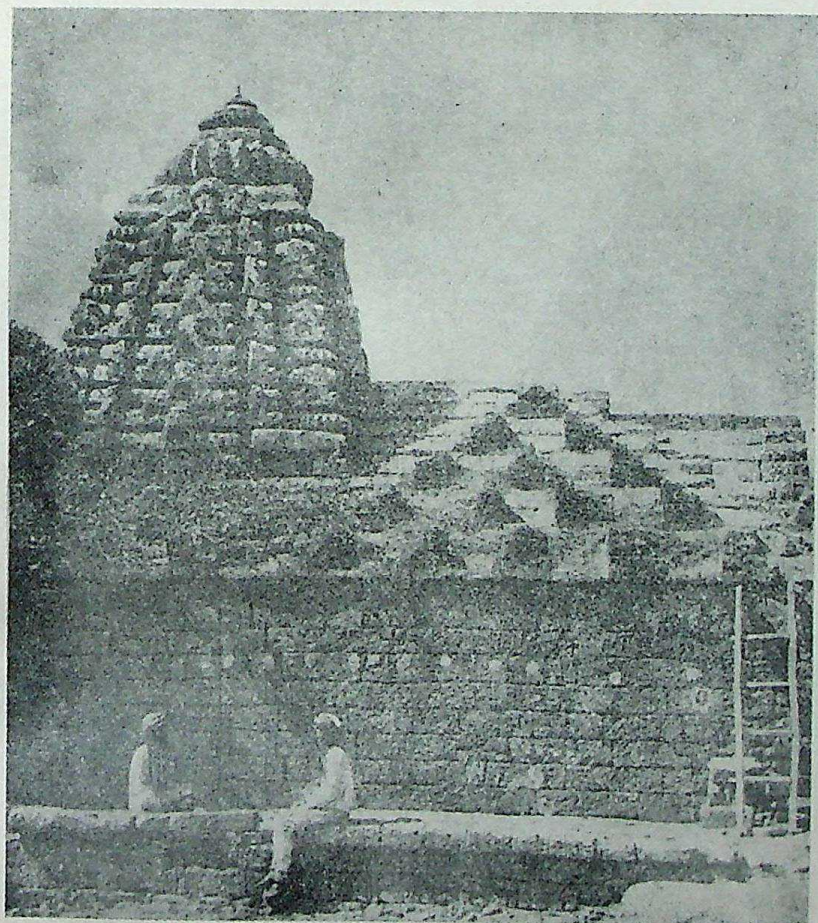
certain relieving projections, and had been of a stunted stature particularly since, no great height could be further imparted to the *śikhara* also. But the basic symmetry of the *śikhara* is an important factor. Thus the temple at Gop fully and justifiably represents the Chalukyan connection in its roof and only the innovation in raising the height of the temple in its cella makes it an odd specimen. That it had not been followed up with further similar structures is probably due to the fact that in the next few centuries, the architectural forms were to undergo significant development, the pace of which could not be kept up by the hinterland that Madhya Saurashtra is, when local political powers had again claimed independence after partaking distant Gupta hegemony for three centuries. The *śikhara* of Gop in itself is the most plausible analogue to the much later *sabhāmaṇḍapa* roof of the subsequent Solanki (developed Chalukyan) styles, and in this is reflected its general commonness with the basic features of early temple architectural forms. But the Gop *śikhara*, if not the main cella structure, had again undergone further transformations as could be seen from the temples at Kadvar, Sutrapada, Visavada, etc. The single unit of Gopan Visavada had also in a short span of time developed into the more universal double unit (with shrine and front *maṇḍapa*) in the aforementioned places.

The pilaster decorations at Gop have more than passing similarity with Deccan pillar forms of the 6th cent. A. D. The *Bhūta gana* sculptures along the facings of the plinth in panels (pl.2) have also an ornate style characteristic of Chalukyan sculptural representations as of Badami. Thus Gop is a natural extension into Kathiawad of rudimentary Chalukyan forms, with an additional inventive feature in its tall or high cella, the very inventiveness marking a lack of tradition in the formation of the cella; and in that it does not anticipate or imitate any other development noted elsewhere.

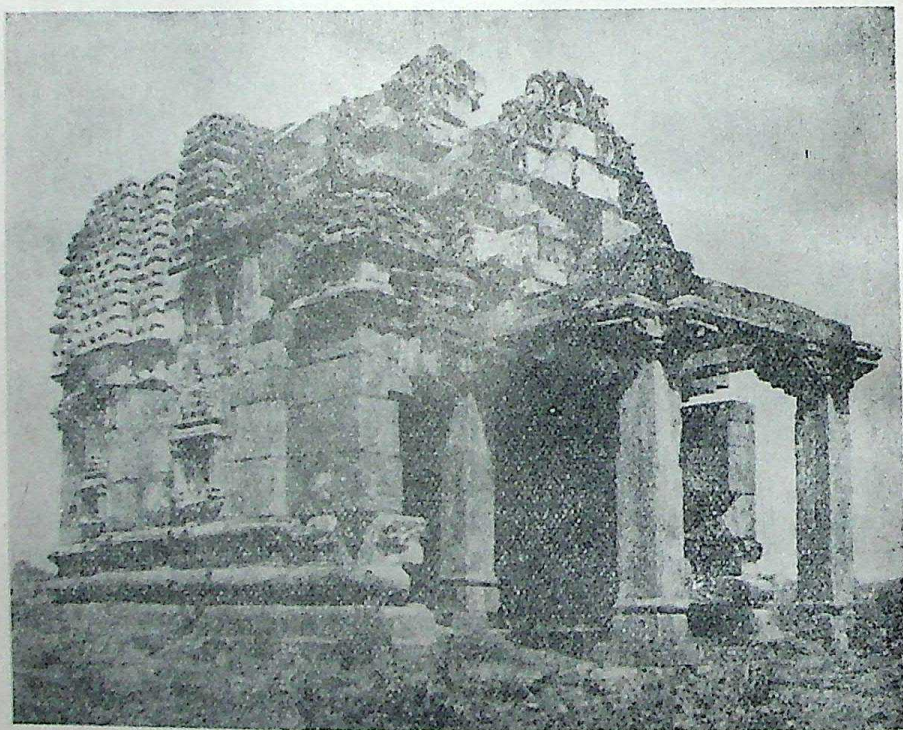
The sixth-seventh centuries A. D. witnessed the emergence of a rudimentary temple plan for the Brahmanical faith. Prior to this, the Brahmanical temples were mainly carved out of

massive rock in the form of cave shrines, wherein no unified plan for ritual requirements could be seen. The earliest temple in Western India of structural plain was the temple of Lad Khan at Aihole wherein the flat double roofed and pillared front *mandapa* and a narrow niché like main cella with an eqally unpretentious *vimāna* above it on the edge of the roof, formed the temple. It was apparently an adaptation from a civilian architectural specimen like an assembly hall. We do see nevertheless that a need for a special spire above the cella was felt. This spire developed in due course into a squattish and almost straight-sided and ribbed (or recessed) *śikhara* with an *āmalaka-śilā* top as well as the *karnāmalakas* in the horizontal divisions and irrespective of the basic outer plan the front *mandapa* had a flattish roof in two levels, the side roofs being slopey and at a distinctively lower level than the central roof, the arrangement being intended to introduce light and ventilation into the front *mandapa* through the clerestory arrangement. It also helped to provide an architrave on the interior for ritual relief sculptures. It is interesting to note that this situation obtained well nigh all over the country, in the Parasuramesvar temple, Bhuvaneshvar, Orissa, in the west as at the Durga temple, Aihole, and it is largely this prototype that had been imitated in the early Saurashtra temples as at Sutrapada, (pl. 3) Visavada, Kinnerkheda, etc. It is, therefore, necessary to accept this as one of the early forms of architectural attempts and they do not seem to flow from a single focus, stylistically speaking. The temples in such cases are, besides, of a medium size, and are often even of less than medium size occupying not more than a 50 or 60 ft. square.

This style has not been in any way influenced by Kashmir gable roof idiom which implies direct borrowal from wood architectural specimens in which lightness, slopey roof and height are of significance from a geographical and climatic point of view, to ward off the heavy snowfall and short wintry days with little sunlight inside structures. They have, therefore, a basically different and sharply contrastive shape which is essentially guided



Pl. 3. Temple at Sutrapada.



Pl. 4. A temple at Roda, with gable roof for its front maṇḍapa.

by functional scope. The early Saurashtra temples, however, are one and all of the basic Chalukyan order, both by way of the typical affiliation of the Chaitya dormer window, flattish front roof where the unit is of a cella and a *sabhāmaṇḍapa* with slopey side roofs, and even where, as in the Gop temple, the *śikhara* has a receding series of Chaitya windows, it is basically a combination of the stepped pyramdial shape of the indigenous Chalukya sub-order with the ornamental Chaitya window motif, ubiquitous in all early decorative devices to religious structures ; and it differs radically from the gable type by the absence of the zig-zag and overhanging elevation of the corner angles of the *śikhara* at each storey. It is also basically in tune with the Jagmohan roofs of the Orissan style.

Thus the absence of the flat front *maṇḍapa* and the presence of the typical gable projection in the multi-plane roofing and triangular mouldings above nichés tend to separate the Kashmiri architectural style from the early structural representations found in the Saurashtra peninsula. The iconographic and sculptural decorative features particularly show the basic Chalukyan affiliations effectively. On the other hand, it may be stated that only the peculiar high plinth and rows of side nichés of the Gop temple, as well as its plain featureless slim shrine structure, would require some explanation. But its inspiration is, perhaps, to be sought for in the Gupta architectural formula as seen at Bhitargaon and Deogarh for the high plinth and tall shrine, and may have no fundamental obligations to the Kashmiri style. The fact that most of the earliest temples in Kachiawar have been dedicated to the Sungod could not again be quoted as any valid reason for any special derivation from Kashmir, since it has no significance for architecture nor could it claim any distinctiveness on that score only. Rather should it be premised that in the peripheral and essentially coastal regions, in the 7th-8th centuries A. D. temples dedicated to Sungod were only popular and this was in itself a ritualistic evolution, particularly characteristic in Gujarat and Rajasthan, where incidence of temples to Sungod, and of iconic representations of combination

like Sūryanārayaṇa etc. were quite high in the pre-mediaeval and early mediaeval times i. e., c. 800-1300 A.D. That in Saurashtra itself, we have at least three stages of the early temple form, demonstrably flowing from one another and generally cognate to the Chalukyan region, (as in the cases of Gop, Kadvar and Kinner kheda, Sutrapada and Visavada) would furnish sufficient indication that, to the extent the local circumstances permitted it, an evolution was implicit in them. Again, the direct contact that south Saurashtra coast had, across the Gulf of Cambay with the Chalukya-Rashtrakuta mainland area is directly substantiated by the examples of early temple styles that rose mainly in the coastal tracts of peninsular Saurashtra.

Be this as it may, there was a subtle fusion between architectural and art motifs of two parental zones, namely Gupta and Chalukya, at Gop, and the rudimentary and faltering beginning of structural architecture in Saurashtra was seen here and, by that very nature, the temple at Gop, in its elevation, may be said to be a fresh derivative from a brick-timber architectural tradition. The continuance of the non-functional provision of rafter holes on the external faces at cornice level, corresponding to the internal ceiling in some of these early Saurashtra temples including Gop, in the form of an ossified architectural decoration, may be taken as the indirect result of such a tradition.

In essence, therefore, we have to view the whole gamut of variations that the early Saurashtra temples displayed in the southern coastal areas as an essentially experimental provincial *milieu*, working within the influences inherited from the Gupta and Chalukyan nuclei of the main land, and have no more bias with the distant and a typical gable roof styles of north-western India. If indeed we confront real gable roof style in Western India or Rajasthan although not necessarily implying Kashmir influence even here, it is quite two centuries later in one of the temples (pl.4) at Roda, near Himmatnagar, Sabarkantha District, Gujarat, bordering on Rajasthan, in the former Idar State. Even here, it has a clearly subsidiary role only in the roof of the front *mandapas*

of the medium sized temples here. This region had contacts and influences from the Pratihara art centres like Osian in Marwar and might have carried some impulses from further north-western India like Kashmir, particularly, if we take note of the legendary association of the mother of Veṇi Vatsarāja of Idar, with Srinagar in Tehri Garhwal area of the Himalayas. However, the few gable specimens that we see at Roda appear generally to lean on some analogues from Osian, as indeed the entire architectural prototypes from Roda area.

K. V. SOUNDARA RAJAN

Interesting Gleanings from Muzaffarpur Collectorate Records

The collectorate record-room at Muzaffarpur is a rich mine of historical materials going back to the time of Sher Shah. The records of the Company's period, except for an isolated volume of 1771, start from 1782, and are continued practically uninterrupted till 1858. These early British documents, of which there are about one hundred and twenty-five volumes on the receipt side only, besides a considerable number on the issue side, are interesting alike for the nature and variety of the topics dealt with in them. Extracts from an appreciable number of these documents have been published in the annual reports of the Bihar Regional Records Survey Committee from 1948-49. The gists of, and extracts from, such of the record series as will interest both students of history and others are given in the present paper ; and they cover the period 1782 to 1804.

(1) *Abolition of duties on horses :*

Extract of a letter from Governor General and Council, dated 31 May, 1782:—

"We approve very much of your proposal to abolish the tax on horses and desire you will make a publication in the name of Government to all the zamindars and others under your authority that if any persons shall either themselves levy an imposition on the vendors or owners of horses, or stop horses from passing on any pretext whatever, or shall suffer others under their authority to do either shall be obliged to refund treble the amount of the exactions so taken and be made answerable for whatever loss the merchant or proprietor of horses shall have sustained by such detention."

(2) *Forcing people to serve as porters.¹*

Minute of the Military Board dated 11 July, 1782:—

"The Board deeming it necessary to prevent travellers in

¹ See in this connection the author's *Economic Transition in the Bengal Presidency* p. 266.

passing through the country from the pernicious practice of seizing and pressing the inhabitants to serve as coolie or otherwise, do hereby give notice that if any single sepoy or small detachments of sepoys commanded by European or native officers going from place to place shall be guilty of any oppression to the inhabitants of the country, or shall attempt to make them work as coolie, the Collector of the district is authorised and directed to apprehend the offenders and deliver them over for trial to the nearest military station. When the public service is concerned and coolie or carriage of any sort are required, application is to be made to the Foujdar or Zamindar of the district or village who is to furnish such assistance as may be necessary. The Collectors are likewise directed to arrest any native servant, not being sepoys, who shall be found so transgressing, and deliver them over to justice."

(3) *Unauthorized residence of Europeans :*

A letter of the Revenue Board to G. F. Grand, Collector of Tirhut, dated 17 March, 1783, intimates the Collector that many vagrant Europeans, who have belonged to the Company's ships, are dispersed over different parts of the country, and they reside contrary to law. He is accordingly directed to cause every European, not possessed of a licence from the Court of Directors, to be taken wherever found beyond the precincts of Calcutta and sent forthwith to the Presidency.

(4) *Complicity of the zemindars in robberies and murders :*

Copy of a regulation passed on 12 August, 1783 :—

"That it has been represented to the Board that the zamindars in many parts of the country are suspected of conniving at robberies and murders, or of being parties concerned in such offences, notwithstanding the public regulations by which they are bound to preserve the peace of the country within the limits of their respective jurisdictions, the Committee, Chiefs and Collectors be authorised on information given, or on well-grounded and general suspicions, to cause such zamindars to be apprehended, and

on their apprehension to publish advertisements giving notice thereof, and requiring all persons who have been robbed within their respective zamindaries to appear and give evidence thereof, and in case evidence should be produced, that the zamindars be forthwith delivered over to phouzdarry courts to take their trial. But in case no witness should appear against them, that the zamindars apprehended be released either with or without security as circumstances may warrant."

"That wherever a zamindar is found guilty of having abetted, practised, or connived at robberies or murders, none of his family be permitted to succeed to the zamindary without the express permission of this Board."

(5) *A distinguished Maratha pilgrim:*²

Extract of a letter from David Anderson to John Bristow, Resident of Lucknow, dated 29 January, 1783:—

"Mahajee (Madhaji) Sindia has requested me to write to you in favour of Sewajee Etul who is going with his family on a pilgrimage to Allahabad, Benares and Ghyah (Gaya), and I comply with his request with particular satisfaction as I have high opinion of Sewajee Etul's favourable disposition towards the English Government, and I know that he was of great service in promoting the separate Treaty with Sindia which was settled last year by Colonel Muir. His character is universally respected, his family is scarcely inferior to any of the Chiefs of the Marattah state. His possessions which were once extensive have been much diminished by the events of war; yet his power and influence at Poonah are still considerable, and tho' at present he acts as an auxiliary subordinate to Sindia, yet as both hold their Jagheers under the immediate authority of the Peshwa they may both be considered in point of rank nearly on a level. These particulars will I am convinced ensure.....that atten-

² In the Judge Court records of Patna there are several instances of Maratha pilgrims coming to Gaya with numerous attendants, horses, etc, Buchanan Hamilton also refers to them in his *Patna-Gaya and Shababad Reports*.

cion from you to which he is entitled from every minister of the English Government. He has desired me to forward the accompanying letters of compliment to the Vizier³ and yourself and I shall be obliged if you send him answers as soon as possible.....

100	Hosemen
100	Mcwathy peons
20	Camels with beggage
3	Palanqueens
5	Doolies ⁴
300	pilgrims with Tatoo ⁵
1000	pilgrims on foot

I beg leave to recommend to you a personal..... of your own to attend him or to write such particular orders regarding him to the Aumil of Allahabad as may effectually..... secure him that degree of respect and attention which is due to his character and station”.

(6) *Grant of waste lands to discharged sepoys:*

Letter from Secretary, Secret Department, to Revenue Committee, 29 March, 1786:—

“The Hon’ble the Governor General and Council having thought proper to resolve on disbanding the two independent Regiments at Raingur (Ramgarh) and Chittagong and on reducing nine Jemadars from each Regiment of sepoys, they have further agreed that the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers reduced by these resolutions shall have waste lands allotted to them in such proportions as were allowed in the Bauggulpore (Bhagalpur) district to invalid officers, viz.

To a Soubadar		200	Begas
Jemadar		100	Begas
Havildar		60	
Naick		50	

3 Nawab-Vizier of Oudh.

4 A conveyance usually carried by human carriers on back.

5 Ponies.

12 *Gleanings from Muzaffarpur Collectorate Records*

The lands are not to be resumed on the death of the commissioned or non-commissioned officers, but it is to be left to the option of the family to receive a perpetual grant of them at a moderate rent to be determined by the Collector.

The following is the number of native commissioned and non-commissioned officers for whom waste lands are to be provided.

Chittagong Regiment—

- 10 Soubadars
- 20 Jemadars
- 40 Havildars
- 40 Naicks

Ramgur Regiment—

- 10 Soubadars
- 20 Jemadars
- 40 Havildars
- 40 Naicks.

Besides 270 Jemadars reduced from the Regiments of Sepoys.

It is the Board's pleasure that you report to them where waste lands can be most conveniently allotted to these several descriptions of native officers. With respect to those of the Ramgur and Chittagong Regiments waste lands are to be granted to them as near as possible to the stations to which they have been respectively attached.

(7) *Practice of dressing private persons' servants like the Company's Sepoys.*

(a) Extract of a letter from Secretary, General Department, 3 April, 1786

"It having been represented that a practice has generally crept in amongst the Banyans and other natives of dressing their servants in or nearly in the same uniform as the Company's Sepoys and that they become in this dress the terror of the common people, and often commit most oppressing acts for which the Company's Sepoys bear the odium, the Hon'ble Board desire

that circular letters be issued throughout the country to prevent this practice.”⁶

(8) *Detention of zemindars in jails for arrears of revenue:*

Copy of a letter from Mr. Keating, Collector of Birbhum, to Board of Revenue, dated 1 August, 1789:—

“Having this day transmitted list of persons in confinement at this place for balances of revenue, I am induced from the feeling of humanity to solicit your attention to the deplorable condition of the persons specified in confinement for balances of the Bengali year 1194 who, from the strictest enquiry I have been able to make, have no possible or probable means of discharging the demands of Government; such effects and property as they were possessed of was (sic.) seized and sold by my predecessor with the produce of which part of the original balance was liquidated; for the remainder they must inevitably linger out their days in jail unless released by the benevolence of Government. From their daily solicitations of being released on personal security to enable them to solicit charity or procure employ to assist them in liquidating the balances, and from my conviction of their having no other possible prospect of it, I have been led to lay their case before you.”

6 The following resolution of the Governor General in Council, passed on 26 May, 1790, was published in the Supplement to the Calcutta Gazette of 3 June, 1790.

“All persons, Europeans and Natives within the Company’s provinces, which includes the district of Benares (excepting the Vakeels from the native powers) are positively forbidden to dress any of their servants, either for the purpose of parade or business in the uniform of the Hon’ble Company’s Sepoys and Lascars or in a dress so nearly approaching to that uniform as to enable the persons wearing it to impose themselves on the Country people for Sepoys and Lascars.

And to secure the full effects of these orders the military commanding officers of stations and detachments in the interior parts of the country, Collectors of districts, Residents and Magistrates are hereby vested with authority and are required to deprive any man of a military dress, who shall presume to wear one contrary to these Regulations.....
.....”

(9) *Virginia Tobacco* :—

Letter from Secretary, Revenue Department, to Collector of Tirhut, dated 14 July, 1790 :—

"I am directed by the Governor General in Council to communicate to you His Lordship's instructions to cause a trial to be made in raising Virginia Tobacco in such of the district of Tirhoot, where tobacco is cultivated most successfully by the natives. The seed for this purpose will be sent to you by Colonel Kyd. It is the wish of Government that a quantity of this article to the amount of half a maund properly cared and packed up may be got ready and sent to Calcutta in time to be exported to Europe by one of the ships of the present season. It is trusted that you will exert yourself to effect it as much as possible and in order to encourage the cultivator to undertake it and attend to it, you are authorised to pay him double the amount of the current price of this article in your district and one half on delivering the seed and the other half on his producing the tobacco."

(10) *Growing of improved species of cotton* :

Letter from Sub-Secretary, Revenue Department, to Secretary Revenue Board, dated 27 August, 1790 :—

"The Board of Trade having suggested to the Governor General and Council the utility of introducing generally throughout the provinces an improved species of cotton by extending the cultivation of the finest and best sort produced in the neighbourhood of Dacca, His Lordship has been pleased to concur entirely in their opinion, and orders will in consequence be given the Commercial Resident at Dacca to procure for two or three years a considerable quantity of seed grown and prepared purposely for saving to be sent to different commercial stations...
.....It is required that the Board of Revenue will apprise the several Collectors of Revenue of the plan and instruct them to afford every assistance in their power to the promotion of so desirable an improvement."

(11) *Introduction of potato cultivation:—*

(a) Extract of a letter from Lt. Col. Kyd to Secretary, Revenue Department, 26 October, 1791:—

".....the best method of bringing the resources which this plant (potato) apparently holds forth in aid of the natives... ..the collectors of provinces will probably be better able to suggest. I shall only observe that in Russia where the prejudices of education and ancient manners are most pertinaciously adhered to, that the present Empress on the occasion of introducing the use of the potato in the vast empire, it is said, was reduced to the necessity of passing an edict, accompanied with fines, penalties that every village in proportion to its extent should annually cultivate a certain number of acres of this plant, leaving her subjects at liberty to use them as food or not as they pleased. Here where the bars to innovation in the article of food fall to be viewed nearly tantamount to physical, the Board will determine how far the Empress's edicts may require modification or the adopting such other means as may appear more suitable."

(b) Letter from Collector of Tirhut to Secretary, Board of Revenue, 22 January, 1802:—

"In reply to Mr. Acting Sub-Secretary Johnston's letter, dated of the 13th October last, you will be pleased to inform the gentlemen of the Board that the growth of potatoes is carried to a great extent in the pergunnah of Hadjeeepore owing to the great consumption and demand of them in the city of Patna which is not far distant from the above pergunnah, but the cultivation of them is not extended to any other part of the district. I believe, it is needless to observe how very averse the natives in general are to cultivate seed of any kind which they are not immediately acquainted with, and from several conversations which I have had with some of the zamindars on the subject I am led to suppose that they might be induced to encourage the growth of potatoes in the other parts of the district provided a premium was offered for a certain number of bighas which would tend to facilitate the object Government have in view."

(12) *Floods and embankments:*

- (a) Letter from Collector of Tirhut to Commercial Resident of Patna, 21 October, 1795:—

"I have been favoured with your letter of the 17th instant in reply to which I am sorry to inform you that almost every part of this district has been inundated in a manner never known before
sircar of Hadjeepore has suffered equally with Tirhoot, pergunnah of Rutty and Chukla Gerowl are entirely under water from the overflowing of the Gunduck and I understand that the greatest part of the town and villages adjacent to Singhea⁷ are destroyed. Pergunnah Balagutch in which the Mow factory is situated is entirely overflowed by the Ganges and scarcely a village left standing. The inhabitants of this and of several other pergunnahs have been compelled to seek some high spot where to remain in security till the waters take off."

- (b) Letter from Commercial Resident of Parna to Board of Trade, 3 August, 1801:—

"I have been obliged to despatch of every maund (of salt-petre) that was ready there (Singhea factory), as soon as possible, as from the immense rise of the river Gunduck and inundation, all that part of the country is under water. The factory and factory house are quite surrounded by water which now washes its wall, and I have my doubts of the possibility of guarding against accident if the river does not fall soon and rapidly.

I have taken the only measures that under the present circumstances I could take for the security of the saltpetre by ordering as many boats as procurable to be sent there to receive it until the river subsides, but it is a business of great difficulty to get boats up the Gunduck at present, and impossible immediately.

⁷ Singhia near Lalganj in Hajipur sub-division of Muzaffarpur district was the most considerable manufacturing town in North Bihar until about 1825. It was the principal centre of saltpetre manufacture and trade in Bihar.

to procure the number sufficient to contain so large a quantity as remains in store.

Some very essential repairs to the Bunds (embankments) in the neighbourhood will be necessary for the security of the salt-petre works, as well as for the welfare of the country."

(c) Extracts from Proceedings of Government in the Judicial Department, dated 11 February, 1802:—

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"The Vice President in Council on a general consideration of the embankments and other works constructed for the purpose of protecting the country from inundation or for the supply of water for the purpose of agriculture, resolves that the magistrates of the several zillahs and cities be vested with a general superintendence and control over all works of this description, whether such works be maintainable at the expense of Government or at the expense of individuals under their engagements with Government."

"Resolved likewise that the Collectors be required during the course of the rainy season to pay every practicable attention to the works above described and that the Collectors report to the Board of Revenue, as early as may be practicable, what repairs may be deemed necessary to works in order that the repair may be commenced in due season."

"Resolved that magistrates do from time to time avail themselves of such opportunities as may offer of inspecting personally the state of all works of the nature of those above described, and that they report to the Governor General and Council their state with any suggestions on the subject which may occur to them."

"Resolved also that for the purpose of enabling the magistrates more effectively to exercise the control vested in them by these orders, the Collectors be instructed to furnish them with such informations as they may require regarding the embankments and other works above described."

"Resolved that it be the duty of the judges of the courts of circuit on each circuit to make enquiries from magistrates and the Collectors and from such other sources of information as they may judge proper into the state of embankments and the work in

question, and to include the result of these enquiries in their reports to the Nizam Adawlat."

"Resolved that construction and repair of all embankments and other works of the above nature be committed to the Collector, assisted by such European or other officers as the nature of the work may require."

(13) *Postal administration:*

(a) Extracts from a letter of Post Office Committee to Governor General in Council, dated 11 September, 1804:—

"3. After all the attention which we have been able to give to the subject either on the former or on the present occasion, we beg leave to offer it as our opinion that the charge of Daks.....be vested in the Collectors wherever it may be practicable and at all other places either in the Magistrates or Registers of Civil Courts."

"4. The opinion is founded for the most part on a conviction that the control of officers of the description must necessarily be more efficient than that of persons in a different situation of life. There can be no doubt we imagine with respect to that point, while those officers are on the spot, and during their absence, their places can always be supplied by their Assistants, their principal Native Officers, or their writers, among the latter of whom there is uniformly one at least capable of discharging the duties of Post Master."

"5. Those advantages cannot be attained from the employment of separate Post Masters. The allowance annexed to that situation is so totally inadequate to the support of persons in any respect in the character of gentlemen, that the duties of the Post Masters must always be subservient to other allocations more important and lucrative to the persons by whom those situations are held. We accordingly find that the post office at Berhampore is held by the Deputy Superintendent of Embankments, and at Bénarès by a planter and Manufacturer of indigo, who has extensive works and concerns in that province, situated chiefly, we believe, in the district of Thonepore. It must be obvious that under these circumstances, the Post Master must frequently, and

for a long time together, be absent from their stations. On all occasions of that nature the most responsible officer to whom the charge of Dauks can devolve is a Moonshee, or a writer, at 20 Rupees per month, as may be seen from a reference to a Book of fixed establishment."

"6. The only argument which can be opposed to this reasoning is that the Collectors and other officers above alluded to are either unwilling or unable to discharge the duties of the Post office. In the former case we shall not do Mr. Birch the injustice to suppose that he does not know the steps which should be taken to enforce the performance of the duties of his department. On the other side, if it is urged that the Collectors have not the requisite for the discharge of those duties, we appeal to the experience which we ourselves acquired when employed at the subordinate stations, and on that ground we hesitate not to declare that had the trouble incident to the charge of the Dauks been three or four times greater than it was, we should still have preferred the performance of it to the transfer of the duty to other hands independent of our authority. This we believe to be the sentiment of everyman who is anxious for the regular, safe and speedy conveyance of the Mails. It appears to be particularly so with the Collector of Shahabad, who, as the Post Master General himself observes, has requested that the Mails in that district may be placed under his immediate charge."

"7. From the foregoing observations it will appear to Your Excellency in Council that we consider the appointment of a separate Post Master at any of the places where Collectors or Magistrates are stationed not only an unnecessary charge, but that the public service would be promoted by the transfer of the duty to those officers."

(d) Extract of a letter from Secretary, Public Department, dated 11 October, 1804:—

"In conformity to the plan submitted by the Committee the offices of the Deputy Post Master at Patna, Berhampore and the other places on the cross routes are to be abolished, with the exception only of those places where neither Magistrates nor

Collectors are stationed, and the Dauk generally are to be placed in all practicable cases under charge of the Collector or, where that arrangement may not be practicable, under the charge of the Magistrates throughout their respective districts.

In like manner the offices of Deputy Post Master at Chass and at Benares are to be abolished and the Dauks generally are to be placed under the charge of the Collectors or Magistrates of different districts through which the road passes, as suggested in the 5th paragraph of the letter from the Post Office Committee dated the 8th instant. The same rulings are also to be adopted on the grand route from Benares to the confines of the territories of His Excellency the Nawab Vizier.

The same principle is to be applied in the Ceded Provinces and the offices of the Deputy Post Master in those provinces, with the exception of the Deputy Post Master at the head quarter of the army are accordingly to be abolished.

The Collectors and Magistrates who may be vested with the charge of the Dauks are to be denominated "Post Masters" and to be subject to your authority with performance of all duty appertaining to the conveyance of the Mails, Baughees and Palankeens. The people employed in the performance of those duties are of course to be paid by the Magistrates and Collectors throughout their respective districts."

(c) Copy of a circular, dated 1804:—

"That no letter shall exceed in length four inches, in breadth two inches, and not be sealed with wax.

That all letters shall be sent to the Secretary of Government with a note specifying the writer and with the writer's name signed under the address to be countersigned by the Secretary previous to deposit in the packet as a warrant of permission.

That postage shall be paid on delivery of the letter, at the rate of ten Rupees a single letter weighing one quarter of a Rupee, for letters weighing half a Rupee fifteen Rupees, and for those weighing one Rupee, twenty Rupees. Letters for Bagdad, Aleppo and Constantinople will.....be transmitted to the Resident at Busara (Basra).....in a separate box, those for

Bagdad and Aleppo for single letters four Rupees progressively and above to eight, and.....for Constantinople, six for single letters progressively to twelve, the whole subject to such alteration as future information may render necessary. Two mails will be transmitted by each dispatch, one of which is intended to be dispatched via Aleppo, the other via Bagdad ; letters in duplicate will be placed in each packet, or if single, at the direction of the Secretary.

The dispatch of the packet from the presidency for Bombay will take place as follows, from July to November inclusive on the 19th day of each month, and from December to June inclusive on the 22nd of each month."

(d) Letter from Post Master General to Acting collector of Tirhut, dated 1 December, 1804:—

"His Excellency the most Hon'ble the Governor General having been pleased to order that the Collectors, Magistrates, etc. in charge of Dauks should in future be denominated Post Masters, and that they should have charge of the Dauk stages in their respective zillahs, I have to request that in any transactions you may have with the General Post Office, you will sign yourself as Post Master of your Zillah, conformally to the accompanying extract of a letter from the Post Office Committee with the resolutions of Government thereon.

You would much oblige me by favouring me as soon as convenient with a list of the stages under you; also with a detailed account of your establishment and a list and names of the rivers, nalas, etc. at which boats are required throughout the year, and also for the rainy season only."

The historical importance of the several documents, of which gists and extracts have been given above, can scarcely be exaggerated. The document dealing with the grant of waste lands is particularly interesting as showing that due provision was made by the Company's Government for the subsistence of ex-armymen and their families. The present document directs the collectors to provide lands to as many as 490 sepoys. It is worth noticing in this connection that *bhoodan* on the part of

Government was not confined to discharged soldiers; invalid army-men were equally entitled to it. It is further striking that these people were granted in some cases as much as 200 *bighas* of land each. No less interesting are the documents relating to the introduction of potato cultivation. Curiously enough, potatoes, which now form part of the staple diet of the Indians, had by no means an easy sailing in this country at the beginning. The innate conservatism of the Indian cultivator obstructed potato-growing for a considerable time, until a premium was decided to be paid to the cultivating class for its encouragement. From the administrative point of view the most interesting document is the one relating to postal administration. It is too well-known to require mentioning that the purely commercial outlook of the East India Company led to the principle of separation of functions being neglected by them and that the collectors and the magistrates were generally saddled with responsibilities wholly unconnected with their offices. In the present instance, these officers are vested with the work of post masters in addition to their normal duties. This shows to what absurd length the combination of functions in the same officers was sometimes carried for considerations of economy.

H. R. GHOSAL

King Mahendra of Allahabad Prasasti

The name of king Mahendra of South-Kośala finds place in the prasasti¹ of Samudragupta—the imperial Gupta ruler in the list of the kings of Deccan (महेन्द्र कोशल). Samudragupta defeated scores of rulers, but mentioned only the important ones.

All the lithic, copper and other records found in South Kośala do not reveal anything about this South Kośala ruler.

But, very recently, the finding of coins² bearing the name of “Mahendrāditya” throws a new light on the history of South Kośala and also on the king mentioned in the Prasasti.

Before we identify Mahendra of the Prasasti, it will be necessary for us to know when he flourished and whether he was a contemporary of Samudragupta (c. 320 to 375 A. D.)

According to the Prasasti,⁴ before entering the south of the Narmada, Samudragupta had defeated the three northern rulers, stabilised the victory at Puṣpa and after proper arrangement of his ancestral as well as newly conquered territories he entered into the Deccan. It means that these achievements must have taken at least 10 years or so.

After this he entered into the Deccan and clashed with Mahendra of South Kośala. That means Mahendra was ruling in 330 A.D.

The prasasti also makes it clear that Mahendra was “defeated, captured and liberated,” and hence Mahendra continued to rule over his domain.

In the Purāṇas,⁵ it is stated that the descendants of Nalas

1 *CII.*, vol. III, page 1.

2 *JNSI.*, vol. X, 1948 pp. 137-148.

3 *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age* by R. C. Majumdar and Altekar, pp. 146-147.

4 *CII.*, vol. III, page 1.

5 *The Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa.*

will rule in Kośala or Dakṣiṇa Kośala, and Pargiter⁶ says that the Nāla princes ruled over the region in the 3rd century A. D. The Nalas though contemporaries of the Vākāṭakas actually ruled from the 4th century onward.

Thus in the 4th century A. D. Nalas were ruling over this region, which is proved by their coins⁷ and lithic⁸ and copper⁹ records. But none of the records of the Nalas give the name of Mahendra.

But very recently a number of gold¹⁰ coins have been found bearing the name of Mahendrāditya. Among the various hoards, the biggest find was of the Khairtal hoard¹¹ which consisted of 54 gold coins in Baloda Bazar, Tahsil of Raipur district, M. P. They are now in the Museum of Nagpur.

The coins¹² are round in shape; reverse blank, weighing from 19 to 20 grains each; and measuring 78 to 87 inches in diameter. They bear dots along the edge inside the circle; Garuḍa standing on a horizontal line with wings spread out. To the proper right of the Garuḍa are the crescent Moon, and a Cakra encircled by dots and to its proper left the Sun symbol and Śaṅkha. Below the line is the legend "Shri Mahendrāditya" in box-headed character. Below the legend are a cluster of seven dots and a letter ऋ (ॠ) or उ (ॡ) or द (ॢ).

A similar coin has been found in Lucknow¹³ Museum published by Shri Prayag Dayal, but its find place is not known. Sri Ajit Ghosh credited it to Kumāragupta.

The learned¹⁴ author of the Khairtal hoard made a thorough

6 *Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 51.

7 *JNSI.*, 1939, pp. 25-35 by V. V. Mirashi.

8 *El.*, vol. XXVI pp. 49-58 Rajim St. and *El.*, vol. XXI by C. R. Krishnamacharlu Podagadh.

9 *El.*, vol. XIX, p. 100: Rithpur Copper plate.

10 Published in various journals i.e. *JNSI.*, vol. X, 1948, pp. 139-148.

11 *JNSI.*, vol. X, 1948 pp. 137-148.

12 *Ibid.*

13 *NS.*, XLIV.

14 *JNSI.*, vol. X p. 137 also *NS.*, XLIV by Prayagdayal.

investigation of the whole lot and compared it with the Gupta coins but he could not find any resemblance with them. The coins have close similarity with the Sarabhapurian and Pāṇḍu-vaṁśī seals and he rejected the suggestions of Shri Prayag Dayal and Sri Ajit Ghosh.

The same¹⁵ journal suggests that these coins may have been issued by Kumāragupta, the imperial Gupta monarch, for circulation in South-Kośala, for, he had only the title "Mahendrāditya."

First, it is not proper to assume that for every province different types of coins were issued. It can be imagined, that with some changes, coins might have been issued for different provinces, to represent, the ideals and ambitions of those provinces, but a drastic change is not imaginable. *Secondly*, South Kośala was never under the direct rule of the Imperial Guptas. *Thirdly*, the Vākāṭaka power of Deccan was a potential check on the Gupta ambitions in Deccan, and to say that these coins were issued by Kumāragupta I for Dakṣiṇa Kośala does not sound reasonable. Because during his reign, the two imperial powers of India had definitely parted ways and were keeping a suspicious eye on each other. And, in such circumstances to say that Kumāragupta issued the Khairtal hoard of coins for Dakṣiṇa Kośala is unconvincing.

On the other hand these coins resemble closely the coins of South Kośala and the seals of the various rulers of this area—particularly Sarabhapurian seals and Nala coins.¹⁶

The learned writer late Dr. Altekar in the same journal¹⁷ has given his editorial view on the same article¹⁸ and tried to prove, that these coins, were of Kumāragupta I, the Gupta emperor. To prove the same, he advanced certain arguments, which are shown here as not very convincing:—

(a) On palaeographic grounds, he says that the coins belong to the 5th cen. A.D. and at that time, no South Kośala king bore

15 Ibid.

16 See the seal of Mahāsudeorāj and others and Nala coins.

17 JNSI., vol. X, pp. 137-147.

18 Ibid.

this title. But palaeography does not give the exact date. It may be 4th as well as 5th cent. and to say that it belonged only to the 5th cent. and not earlier or later does not seem to be correct. It may be of the 4th cent. when Mahendra was ruling over South Kosala.

(b) Kumāragupta was a lover of varieties and he gives an example of Bayana¹⁹ hoard. But Bayana hoard does not show the variety under consideration and hence it cannot be taken as conclusive.

(c) It is said that it is an imitation of Candragupta II's coin. But imitation does not mean that it belongs to Gupta rulers.

(d) These coins which are under consideration resemble very closely the Nala coins which they must have copied from the Guptas. So far as this fourth point is concerned both his propositions seem to be correct. First he says, it resembles very closely the coins of Nalas. Secondly, they must have copied the present coins from the Guptas; for Mahendra was "defeated, captured and liberated." So in obligation to his safe re-enthronement he might have issued this Garuḍa type of coins which was definitely not the feature of the Nala coins. Mahendra being a vassal chief, after his defeat might have asked for "Garut Mad-aṅka-sva-viṣaya-bhukti-saṇa-yacana".

Thus it seems that the learned editor is hesitant to assign these coins to the Imperial Guptas.

The learned author in the same article,²⁰ admits that his arguments are not conclusive and he himself refutes all his points and at the end, he says that these coins cannot belong to Gupta emperors, and advances these arguments in favour of this:—

The Gupta gold coinage has some definite characteristics. No king is known to have issued a type weighing less than 100 grains or having a blank on one side. The coins under considera-

¹⁹ *JNSI.*, vol. X 1948 pp. 137-148.

²⁰ *JNSI.*, vol. VIII, pp. 179-184

tion are only 20 grains and blank on reverse. Hence they can hardly be attributed to the Gupta rulers. The third proposition of his is that suppose if Guptas, particularly Kumāra Gupta, had it put in circulation then why did his successors not continue it, if economy is the point? Thus it cannot be a Gupta coin.

Thirdly, the Gupta gold coins have been found all over the Gupta empire, where they were current. And if the gold coins under consideration were issued by him then why have they been not found elsewhere? In Bayana²¹ hoard and Bharsara²² hoard, 600 and 160 gold coins have been found respectively. Not one of these coins resembles the present one.

Fourthly, the coins under consideration are limited in circulation and found only in South Kōśala and hence have a local character. Moreover there is no evidence to prove that South Kōśala ever remained in the 4th and 5th century under the direct rule of the Guptas. It is true that the South Kōśala ruler Mahendra was defeated in the 4th century by Samudragupta, but it is equally true that he was re-instated.

Lastly, Dr. Altekar says that even if it is taken against all the above arguments that these coins belong to Kumāragupta I, then it is very difficult to compromise with the idea that S. Kōśala was included in his kingdom, for, the Vākātakas were guarding the South of the Narmada jealously, for, no love was lost between the two empires.

At length Dr. Altekar was of the opinion that these coins were not issued by any Gupta emperor but by some Mahākosala king who must have taken the title "Āditya". Even the question of borrowing the device, he says, is not certain.

Dr. Altekar at last formed a definite opinion that the present coins had close resemblance to the coins of Prasannamātra, the Sarabhapurian ruler and the dividing of the coin, into two parts, upper one with emblem and lower part with the name of the

²¹ *JNSI.*, vol. VIII, pp. 179-184.

²² *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 306 by Dr. Altekar.

issuer and other things may have been an originality of South Kōśala.

Thus, now it is clear that the coins under discussion are local coins of S. Kōśala, of a local king and also devised originally without any borrowing or whatsoever.

Hence, Mahendrāditya of the coins, belonging to the Khairtal hoard was the king of South Kōśala only. The only coin in Lucknow²³ Museum of Mahendrāditya, must also be taken as South Kōśalan, for it resembles closely to the present coins; secondly it has all the peculiarities of South Kōśalan type and above all, in the absence of knowledge of its find-place, it must be attributed to this region only.

One more coin²⁴ of Mahendrāditya in the old fort of Madanpur-Rampur in Kala-hāndi, native state of Orissa, has come to light. The coin is again a true copy of the present coins and is within the limits of South Kōśala kingdom.

All the coins found in South Kōśala, such as coins of Prasannamātra,²⁵ the Nala kings²⁶ and the present coins have a striking similarity, and all of them belong to this region only.

On the basis of the above evidences it may be stated that Mahendrāditya of these coins was a local ruler and he had the proud title of "Āditya."

The next question is, to which dynasty he belonged and when he flourished.

So far as the coins of South Kōśala are concerned, they bear box-headed character, and belong only to the Nala and Sarabhapurian dynasty, as the coins of no other dynasty have been found so far.

The question of attributing Khairtal coins to Sarabhapurians is completely ruled out, for the Sarabhapurian genealogy table is complete with the help of their numerous charters and copper plates and coins.

²³ *NS.*, XLIV No. 309.

²⁴ *OHRJ.*, vol. I, p. 137.

²⁵ Proceedings of the Oriental Conference Lahore.

²⁶ *INSI.*, vol. XVI, pp. 215-218 B. C. Jain, *IHQ.*, vol. XV and *IHQ.*, vol. IX.

The only possibility now remains of placing the Mahendrāditya type of coins is with the Nalas. The reasons are as follows:—

(i) The Mahendrāditya coins which bear box-headed character belongs to the region just to the south of the Narbada and to the 4th and 5th century A.D. At this time Nalas were ruling over this region as has been shown²⁷ above.

(ii) Mahendra of coins and Mahendra of Allahabad praśasti must be identical. And as the Mahendra of praśasti belonged to the third quarter of the fourth century, these coins should be taken as of the same date, and at that time Nalas were ruling over this region, and therefore he was a Nala ruler.

(iii) Nala rulers seem to have taken special interest in coinage and a number of their coins²⁸ have been found. One ruler²⁹ of this dynasty claims 29 coins out of 32 found in a single hoard. Mahendrāditya must have taken equal interest according to the family tradition. More than half a century, coins of his have been found.

On the other hand early Sarabhapurian rulers, such as Prasannamātra tried to take some interest, with imitation and issued some coins of which few have come to light. We are yet ignorant about the coins of other dynasties.

(iv) The name Mahendrarvarman sounds well with some of the Nala rulers as Bhavadattavarman,³⁰ Skandavarman³¹ etc.

(v) Moreover Nala genealogy has nothing to disown Mahendra of these coins.

(vi) On the whole, looking to the character, the date of the praśasti, similarity of the coins and the uncertainty in the chronological order of the genealogical table of the Nalas, the

27 *The Vāyu and Brāmāṇḍa Purāṇa* and Pargiter's *Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 57.

28 *JNSI.*, 1939, pp. 25-35 by V. V. Mirashi.

29 Varāharāja.... *JNSI.*, 1939, pp. 25-35.

30 Podagadh Inscription.... *El.*, vol. XXI by C. R. Krishnamachari, Madras.

31 *Ibid* (*El.*, vol. XXI).

present Mahendrāditya of coins and Mahendra of praśasti can be made to fit in with this dynasty only. The rest of the dynasties, which ruled over this region, have almost settled genealogical tables with sufficient precision.

Thus from every consideration Mahendra of the Praśasti and the coins is identical and belonged to the Nala family. He had the proud title of "Āditya" before the Guptas took it.

The only thing which remains unexplained is that the Nala coins bore bull, the Śiva emblem, whereas the present coins bore Garuḍa, the Vaiṣṇava emblem. As Mahendra was defeated by the Gupta ruler, who was a devotee of Viṣṇu, he must have come under the influence of the Gupta ruler and embraced the Vaiṣṇava faith. Examples of changing of faith in those days were not rare. The Vākāṭaka emperor who was the son-in-law of Candragupta Vikramāditya also did the same.

P. L. MISHRA

Some Numerical Vocables in Prakrit

In the sūtra “*Īrjibhūā-simha-trimśad-vimśatau tyā*” (I. 92) Hemacandra has suggested that the vowel *i* occurring in the first syllable in the word *vimśati* becomes lengthened with the concomitant disappearance of the final syllable (i.e. *ti*). Thus *vimśati* becomes changed to *visā* the vowel *a* being presumably lengthened due to the annexation of the feminine suffix *ā* to stem *visa*, after the consonant has been dropped. By the sūtra “*vimśatyāder luk* (I. 28) he speaks further about the liquidation of the nasal sound, that one finds in the word. Now, the framing of sūtras, as done by Hemacandra, seems queer to one, as the former does not establish any causal relation between the disappearance of the nasal element of the word and the concomitant lengthening of the preceding vowel, which together form one linguistic phenomenon. Further, one is at his wit's end when he tries to find out some relationship between the loss of the final syllable *ti* and the lengthening of the vowel *i* of the final syllable, as suggested by Hemacandra and stated above. Naturally a question arises about the etymology of the word.

Pischel has also taken notice of the word. In section 75 of his Grammatik he states: “In the terminal sound except in the Pluti after the fall of a final consonant dialectal lengthening is substituted by Anusvāra (comp. § 181). Amg. JM *visā* and *visam* = *vimśat* = *vimśati*, *tisā* and *tisam* = *trimśat*, *cattālisā* and *cattālisam* = *catvārimśat*, with the shortening of the final sound, *visa*, *caūālisā*, *coālisa* beside *tisā* (§ 445)”.¹ Pischel's statement leads us to certain conclusions. Pischel thinks that the word

1 “Im Auslaut wechselt, ausser bei der pluti (71) nach Abfall eines schliessenden consonanten dialektisch zuweilen Dehnung mit der Anusvāra (vgl. § 181). Amg. JM *visā* und *visam* = **vimśat* = *vimśati*, *tisā* und *tisam* = *trimśat*, *cattālisā* und *cattālisam* = *catvārimśat*. A. mit kürzung des Auslautes *visa*, *caūālisā*, *coālisa* neben *tisā* (§ 445).

vīsā does not bear evidence of the loss of the syllable *ti*, as Hemacandra assumes, but of the mere consonantal element *t*, since he considers the hypothetical *viṃśat* as the source of the same. This assumption does not seem unsound, since the form, *viṃśat* occurs in the epic Sanskrit and is not a mere surmise for further deductions.² In the above extract Pischel's reference to section 181 of his Grammatik points to the fact that the final nasal in the word *vīsam*, that develops with loss of the final consonant, is not the result of annexation of the neuter termination *m* to the base *vīsa*, but a fortuitous product of the phenomenon of the loss of the final consonant. Further, according to him the lengthening of the final vowel in the stem *vīsa*, which substitutes the final nasal of the form, is likewise a strange manifestation. It thus contradicts the referred assumption that the vowel *ā* in *vīsā* is the result of the modification of a stem into an inflected form by the addition of the termination to the base. These facts clearly indicate that the views of Pischel remarkably differ from those of Hemacandra.

It may be stated at the very beginning that Pischel is probably correct in assuming that the development of *viṃśati* to *vīsā*, consequent on the loss of the final syllable and the lengthening of the vowel *a* of the second syllable to *ā*, is a dialectal feature, though Hemacandra does not impose any condition whatsoever of this nature. This becomes definitely known from the simultaneous occurrence of other forms like *vīsam*, *vīsa*, *vīsai*, *vīsai*, *vīsaiṃ* etc., remaining current in Prākṛit. It finds support from the condition in Pāli, which possesses the variety of forms like *vīsa*, *vīsam*, *vīsā*, *vīsati*.³ These multifarious forms are found also in the texts of the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, which has *viṃśat*, *viṃśati*, *viṃśa*, *viṃśam*, *viṃśāḥ* etc.⁴ So it is very likely that the form *vīsā* is dialectal in character ; but, strangely, grammar took notice of this alone and remained silent about

² Whitney, 475 (c).

³ Geiger, Pāli Language and Literature § 116.

⁴ Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit vol. I, 19. 29-33.

others, which probably did not demand any special observation due to their close conformity to ordinary conditions of phonetic modifications during their transformation from Sanskrit.

To us the processes, which dictate the development of *vimśati* to *visā*, seem to be different from those, which have been stated either by Hemacandra or by Pischel. Here the modification of the vowel *a* to *ā*, which we note in the word *visā*, is probably the result of a vowel contraction, which is of quite an unusual nature. It becomes palpably known from the stages, which the word *vimśati* underwent in course of its transformation. We can ordinarily ascertain the following stages in the evolution of the form: *vimśati* = *visai* = *visāi* = *visā*. The form *visai* at first showed the loss of the final vowel *i*, which caused the concomitant lengthening of the preceding vowel *a*. Another explanation is also possible, which enables us to explain the formation of the word quite independent of this process of transformation. Possibly the form *visai* developed into *visaa* by a process of vowel assimilation and then the contact vowels *a + a* (in *visaa*) coalesced together and developed into *ā*. This explanation is possible and probably remains at the basis of the conception of the first explanation; but as there are quite strong reasons to admit the occurrence of the latter we accept it and perceive its due role in the historic transformation of forms.

The above explanation puts us to certain obligations to explain the Prākṛit forms *tīsā* = Skt. *triṃśat*, *cattālisā*, *cālisā* (Prākṛta-paiṅgala) = *catvāriṃśat*, *paññāsā* = *pañcāśat* etc. Pāli also shows *visā*, *tiṃsā*, *cattālisā*, *paññāsā*, *paññāsā* etc. As the Skt. forms, which correspond to these Pkt. or Pāli terms, end in a consonant *t* and do not possess the element *ti* as the final syllable, our explanation does not seem to hold good with respect to the origin of these Pkt. forms. But this does not stand as an insurmountable difficulty. Whitney has pointed out that in old texts of Sanskrit *triṃśati* occurs side by side with *triṃśat*, so also *pañcāśati* beside *pañcāśat*.⁵ Monier Williams has also men-

5 Whitney, Ibid.

tioned both these forms *triṃśati* and *pañcāśati* along with *catvāriṃśati*, which too is found to have remained current in the speech beside the usual *catvāriṃśat*. So we can maintain that the forms *triṃśati*, *catvāriṃśati* and *pañcāśati* stand at the basis of the above-quoted Pkt. forms. Such are indeed the stages, which might be assumed in their transformation: *triṃśati* = *tīsai* = *tīsai* = *tīsā*; *catvāriṃśati* = *cattālisai* = *cattālisai* = *cattālisā*; *pañcāśati* = *paññāsai* = *paññāsai* = *paññāsā*.

We intend now to cite certain examples from the Prakṛta Paṅgala (Asiatic Society edn.), where the same feature of contraction is found to have been operative. The last line of the Mātrā verse 185 possesses the word *phulā*, which corresponds to Skt *sphurati*. So the stages in the development of the form are *sphurati* = *phulai* = *phulā*. Here in the form *phulai* there happens the loss of the final vowel *i*, that is simultaneously followed by the lengthening of the preceding vowel *a*.

In the Varṇa verse 11 there is one word *kaṇṇā*, which corresponds to Skt *karnaih*. Here the course of development is *kaṇṇehi* (Pkt.) = *kaṇṇahi* (Ap) = *kaṇṇai* = *kaṇṇā*. In the Varṇa verse 31 there is the form *jāṇiā* corresponding to Skt. *jñāyate*. Here the line of transformation stands as: *jāṇiai* = *jāṇiai* = *jāṇiā*. In the Varṇa verse 66 there is one word *lolā* = Skt. *lolanti*. The stages in the evolution are: *lolanti* = *lolabī* (Ap.) = *lolai* = *lolā*. In the same there is one form *rāā* = Skt. *rājate*. Here too *rājate* = *rāai* = *rāā*. The Varṇa verse 105 contains the form *adhaṅgā*, which corresponds to Skt. *arddhāṅge*. The stages which can be assumed in transformation, are: *arddhāṅge* = *adhaṅgahi* (Ap) = *adhaṅgahi* (simplification of the conjunct-group without compensatory lengthening) = *adhaṅgai* = *adhaṅgā*. The same verse possesses also the form *ṇokkḥā*, which is a source of confusion to the scholars. It corresponds to Skt. *lokyate*, which shows the following stages in course of its evolution: *lokyate* = *lokkai* = *ṇokkhai* (spontaneous aspiration) = *ṇokkḥā*.

We quote a few more in support of our proposition, which would establish that the development of *ā* from the contact-vowels *a + i* is not a sporadic manifestation but a common feature

in the speech-habit. In the Varṇa verse 116 there is one verbal *muṇijjā*, which the commentary assumes to be correspondent of Sanskrit passive form *jñāyate*. It presupposes the following stages in the course of its transformation: *jñāyate* i.e. *manyate* = *maṇijjāi* = *muṇijjāi* = *muṇijjā*. In the Varṇa verse 113 there are the verbal forms *dekkhā* and *pekkhā*. The former represents Skt. *drśyate* (i.e. *drkṣyate*) while the latter *prekṣyate*. The stages here: *drkṣyate* = *dikkhāi* = *dekkhāi* = *dekkhā*; *prekṣyate* = *pekkhāi* = *pekkhā*. In the verse Varṇa vṛtta 175 there is one word *aggā*, which corresponds to Skt. *agre*. It presupposes the following stages of development: *agre* = *aggahi* (Ap.) = *aggai* = *aggā*. Examples may be multiplied. These clearly suggest that the development of *visā*, *tīsā*, *cattālisā*, *paññāsā* etc., from *viṃśati*, *triṃśati*, *catvāriṃśati* and *pañcāśati* respectively is quite possible in the analogous manner. It remains for us now to show whether this contraction has been admitted to be a fact by the scholars.

It may be pointed out here that this type of contraction (i. e. *a + i* developing into *ā*) has not been noted by anybody at any time. But we assume its occurrence from the contraction of a kindred nature. In *Apabhraṃśa Studien*, Alsdorf has elaborately discussed about the development of a vowel *ā* from the combination of the contiguous *a* and *u* and of *ī* from the vowel group *i* and *a*. Though he has not called it contraction proper, as the vowels *ā* and *ī* in each case has been occasioned by the loss of the second vowel i.e. *u* in the first case and *a* in the second and consequent lengthening of the first i.e. of *a* and *i* respectively, others have treated such changes under contraction, which justifies the mention of the feature as such (i.e. contraction).⁶ These

6 We like to point to the following statement of Alsdorf, which clarifies his stand: Man muss sich zunächst darüber klar sein, dass der Wandel von *au* zu *ā* etwas grundsätzlich anderes ist als der von *au* zu *ō*. Durch Kontraktion kann aus *au* immer nur (über *au*) *ō* werden. Wenn aber *au* zu *ā* wird so ist dies m. E. nur so zu erklären, dass der schliessende Vokal abgefallen unter Ersatzdehnung des vorhergehenden: genau derselbe Vorgang, der zu dem oben besprochenen Übergang von *ia*.

types of contraction (i.e. $a + u$ leading to $\bar{a}$ and $i + a$ leading to $\bar{i}$) have also been mentioned by Turner in Gujarāti Phonology.⁷ Bloch also passingly took notice of this feature in his L'Indo-Aryan.⁸ It has been noted also in Assamese, its formation and development.⁹ So we may assume that the contiguous vowels $a + i$ too in the analogous manner may sometimes develop into $\bar{a}$. This seems to be justified, as we have already shown, by examples, which we have quoted from the Prākṛta-paiṅgala.

Now, here it needs mention that these developments have all been ascribed to the NIA speeches. So it is worth consideration whether such features should have recourse to explain the development of forms like $vīsā$, $tīsā$ etc, which are MIA in character. This objection does not present an insurmountable difficulty, as NIA features show their fore-bodings in Prākṛit—the immediately preceding stratum of the NIA speech. This finds support also from the fact that Alsdorf found many examples in Ap., where the above-stated contractions are found to have taken place. So this kind of objection cannot stand

We like to mention here that Alsdorf specifically objected to the assumption of a contraction (i.e. of $a + i$ to $\bar{a}$), which has

iu in i führte ; auch in diesen Fällen kann man unmöglich von einer Kontraktion sprechen. Ich befinde mich hier in übereinstimmung mit Grierson der (Mod. Ind. Vern. § 183[7]) schreibt: i + a, u + a, ē + a. The a is elided and, if the accent falls on the i, u or e it is lengthened." Apabhraṃśa Studien pp. 13-14. [Trans: It must be clarified that the change of $aü$ to $\bar{a}$ is something fundamentally different from that of $aü$ to o — $aü$ (through au) becomes always changed to $\bar{o}$ through contraction. But if $aü$ becomes developed to $\bar{a}$, so it is to be explained that the final vowel is elided with the compensatory lengthening of the preceding: exactly the same process led to the following development $-ia$, $-iu$ to $\bar{i}$; thus in those cases one can impossibly speak of a contraction. I agree with Grierson, who writes: $\bar{i} + a$, $u + a$, $\bar{e} + a$. The a is elided, and if the accent falls on i , u or e , it is lengthened.]

7 Turner, Gujarāti phonology, JRAS 1921 § 26. pp. 358, 360.

8 Bloch, L'Indo-Aryan, p. 164, Abs. 4.

9 § 239 (2).

been the basis of our explanation of the Pkt. forms *visā*, *tisā* etc. He stated in unambiguous words: "The tendency for simplification of the double vowels through fall of the second and the compensatory lengthening of the first was extended by some but not all the speeches to the case of final *āū*. Medial *āū* remains free from this development, so did *āi* in every position."¹⁰

That this statement of Alsdorf is not free from objection becomes evident from the fact that the above stated contractions i.e. of *a + ū* to *ā* and of *i + a* to *ī* are found medially also, which Turner has shown in his Gujarāṭi Phonology. He cites *pīi* from *piāi* (Skt. *pivati*) so also *mūu* from *muāū* (Skt. *mṛtaka*), which categorically abnegates his statement. Now whether his other assertion that *a + i* should maintain itself as such in every position and not modified to *ā*, is correct is to be judged by the scholars on the evidence of the facts, that we have adduced above.

S. N. GHOSAL

10 "Die Tendenz zur Vereinfachung von Doppel-vokalen durch Abfall des zweiten und Ersatzdehnung des ersten vokals wurde von einigen, aber nicht von allen sprachen auch auf auslautendes *āū* ausgedehnt. Inlautendes *āū* entzog sich ihr, ebenso wie *āi* in jeder Stellung." Apabhraṃśa Studien p. 14.

A Study of the un-Pāṇinian Verb-forms in the Critical Edition of the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata

The object of this paper is to draw the attention of scholars to the fact that some of the verb-forms found in the Mahābhārata (Ādi-parvan)¹ do not confirm to the rules of Pāṇini.

Conjugation

It will be observed that the conjugation of the verbal roots in the Ādiparvan generally agrees with that in Classical Sanskrit; but there are some deviations which call for notice. Sometimes a verb is conjugated in a class different from that prescribed by Pāṇini. Sometimes a transferred stem has become a root, as is often found in Pali, Prakrit and Buddhist Sanskrit. Interchange between strong and weak verbal stems, change of endings are important linguistic characteristics. There are a few instances of confusion of roots similar in form, but different in meaning and belonging to different classes.

I *Change of Conjugation*

The Epic Language, like Pali and Prakrit, shows a tendency for transferring the roots of the non-thematic conjugations to the thematic. As a result, we find in the Ādiparvan that ten roots belonging to the different non-thematic classes have been conjugated while making finite forms, after Class I (frequently), Class IV and Class VI. (It should be noted here that some 4th and 6th class roots also have been conjugated in a few instances after Class I, and once, 1st class root *ruh* has been conjugated after Class VI). Sporadically however, three thematic roots have been transferred to the non-thematic conjugation. Similar phenomena

¹ The references are to the critical edition of the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata,

occur in Vedic and BS also, and not unknown even in Classical Sanskrit. Examples from the Ādiparvan are listed below :

A. Change of Conjugation without Change of Voice.

(i) Change to the 1st conjugation from the 2nd.

✓ās, pari+upa—yaḥ sapatna-śriyaṃ dīptāṃ hīna-śrīḥ pary-
upāsate / (No. v. l.) 1. 74. 12. For avoiding catalectic foot,
and for diiambic close. Probably influenced by the future
āsiṣyate, on such models as bhaviṣyati to bhavati, seviṣyate to
sevate and similar cases (cf. Edgerton, 28. 13, 14). Āsati-te
etc. appear for the first time in the Epics. The Rāmāyaṇa has
upāsate (singular) 7. 37. 20, upāsante 1. 14. 18.

✓cakṣ, ā—ā-cakṣa-dhvaṃ yathāvan me śrotum icchāmi tattvataḥ /
(N₃ ācakṣva vai) 1. 45. 18.
ā-cakṣa-dhvaṃ ca Bhīṣmāya rūpeṇa ca guṇaiś ca mām / (N₃
ācakṣva tāta ; T₂ G_{5,6} ājñāpayadhvaṃ; G₂ āvedayadhvaṃ;
G_{4,5m} ākhyāpayadhvaṃ; Ś₁ K_{1,2,4} Bhīṣmāya tāvad ācadhvaṃ)
1. 122. 20.

Both of the above two cases are for avoiding catalectic foot, and for the 1st type of spondaic opening and pathyā close. Is cakṣati a back-formation from the causative cakṣayati? All the variants, however, avoid the irregular form by using regular forms from the same root, and other regular forms of kindred meaning. Cf. cakṣate-ṣante etc. 'Rv. E+' in Whitney's Roots.

✓śās, anu—Vicitravīryas tu.../ anvaśāsan mahārāja pitṛ-paitā-
maham padam // (No. v.l.) 1. 95. 13. For avoiding
catalectic foot, and for the second type of spondaic opening
and pathyā close. Probably based on the future śāsiṣyati.
Cf. śāsati etc. 'E+' in Roots. The Rāmāyaṇa has aśāsat
7. 38. 1; anvaśāsat 1. 7. 20.

✓han—yac Chalyam patitam bhūmau nābanad balinaṃ bali/
 $\dot{S}_1 K_1$ nābhyahad; $K_{0,3,4} N_{2,3} V_1 B D$ [except $D_{a_1} D_{d_1}$]
 M_3 °vadhīd; $K_2 \dot{N}_1$ °bhy aghnad; G_1 °hanyād) १. 181 .25.
 For avoiding catalectic foot, and for the 2nd type of trochaic
 opening and diiambic close. Reading is not certain.

✓han, abhi + ā — tatas taṃ.....Śālvarājo mahārathah/abhy-āhanad
ameyātmā Bhīṣmaṃ Sāmtanavaṃ raṇe// (N₂ B_{1.3} Da Dn
D_{1.2n} abhy agacchad) 1. 96. 25. For avoiding catalectic
foot, and for the pyrrhic opening and pathyā close.

In the above two cases also, the future, here hanīṣyati, seems
to play a role in creating present forms, namely, hanati etc.
(see Edgerton 28. 14). The forms ahanat-nan already appear
in the Brāhmaṇas; cf. Roots. The Rāmāyaṇa has ahanat 5.
45. 12; abhy-āhanat 1. 40. 17 (North Western Recension).

Macdonell presents some Vedic forms showing transfer
to the 1st class from the 2nd, viz. aśayāt anati (p. 335,
fn. 5, 7 respectively), śāsati, active imperfect 3rd singular
aduhāt (p. 336, fn. 5, 8 respectively) etc. Pali has hanati
hanatha, āsati 'sits' lehati 'licks', rodati 'cries', ravati 'roars',
etc. (Geiger §140. 1). BS has prati-jāgaranti, prati-jāgareta
(pres. opt. 3rd sing. mid) from root jāgr 'watch'; abhistavati
etc. from root stu 'praise'; parā-hanati hananti etc. from root
han 'strike', etc. (Edgerton, chap. 43). Prakrit has ravaī =
rautī, pasavaī = pra-sūte (Pischel §494); ahīyāsae = adhyāste,
pajjuvāsāmi = paryupāse, sāhaī = śāste, hanaī = hanti, etc.
(Pischel §499).

(ii) Change to the 1st conjugation from the 4th.

✓nah, pari — na tāṃ vadhrāḥ pariṇahēc chatacarmā mahān aṇuḥ/
(K₄ parivahet; D_{3.7} °ṇaha°; T₂ M °ri [M_{1.5} °rī] ṇāhe°;
G_{2.3} °rīṇāhaḥ G₁ sa ca tāntau parivalian) 1. 26. 19. For
the 1st vipulā ending in preference to the 5th. The root
nah is conjugated in the first class, only in the Mahābhārata,
and nahet belongs exclusively to the Mahābhārata (cf. Roots).
BS has onahatī, present indicative (see Edgerton, chap. 43,
under the root nah).

✓so, vi + ava — na tv ahaṃ satyam utsraṣṭuṃ vy-ava-seyaṃ
kathaṃcana (K₁ B_{3.6} D_{1.1} D₄ G_{3.6} M_{6.8} vy-ava-syeyam [K₁
°ya; M₆ °ham]) 1. 97. 18. For the 2nd type of spondaic
opening (— —).

(adharmo dharma iti vā vyavasāyo na śakyate)

kartum asmadvidhair brahmaṃs tato na vy-ava-sāmy

aham (N₈ B [except B₆] D tatoyam na [D₆ ca] vyavasyate [B₈ D₁ °ti]; T₁ na vyavasyāmy aham tataḥ) 1. 188. 12. For diiambic close.

The root so is conjugated in the 1st class, only in the Mahābhārata, and the present forms sāmi, seyam belong exclusively to the Mahābhārata (see Roots, under root 1 sā, si 'bind').

Vedic has naśati-te etc. from root naś 'be lost', bodhati etc. from root budh 'know, wake' (see Roots). The Rāmāyaṇa presents nyaseyuh 5. 37. 58; ni-bodhadhvam 4. 45. 9 (North Western Recension); vi-śrāmanti 5. 98. 7 (North Western Recension). BS has nyaseya—present optative from root as 'throw'; vopa-samanti—present indicative from root śam 'be quiet' (see Edgerton, chap. 43). In Prakrit we have pasamanti etc. from root śam; vīsamasi etc. from root śram; vedaḥ (= vedhati) from root vidh (vyadh); śilesai (= śleṣati) from root śliṣ (see Pischel, §489).

(iii) Change to the 1st conjugation from the 5th.

str, sam-tā—jvalantam agniṃ tam amitra-tāpanaḥ | samāstarat patraratho nadibhiḥ | (N₁₋₃ V₁ B_{3m}. 4 G₁₋₃ samāvṛṇot; B_{4m} °stanot; Cd as in text) 1. 28. 25; not metri causa.

Starati etc. have been formed from str according to the analogy of dharati from dhṛ, sarati from sṛ, harati from hṛ, smarati from smṛ, tarati from tṛ; but see Edgerton 28.13. It may be pointed out here that the root from str is conjugated in both the 5th and the 9th classes from Vedic onwards, but it is conjugated in the 1st class from the Epic period. As, 'theoretically ṛ would have the same changes as ṛ' (Whitney, Grammar, 236 a), we may regard the above form also as a case of transfer from the 9th class to the 1st.

Vedic has cayat, cayema (Rgveda) from root ci 'gather'; varati-te etc. from root vṛ 'cover',—Whitney himself, however, assigns them to aorist 1 as well but expresses doubt; see Roots. The Rāmāyaṇa has astarat 2. 124. 14 (North Western Recension) from root str. Pali has, from root ci 'collect', present optative forms niccheyya (ci with nis), abhi-

saṃ-ceyyam (Geiger, § 131. 1). Prakrit has uccei, uccenti, infinitive ucceum, from root ci (Pischel, § 502); pāvasi pāvai pāvanti pāva from root āp with pra (see Pischel, § 504); tacchanti from root takṣ, ottharaī from root str with ava, (Pischel, § 505). BHS has present forms prāvaranti vivarāmi vivarāmo etc. from root vṛ 'cover'; present imperative saṃstarāhi (v. l. °ehi) from root str 'strew'; (see Edgerton, chap. 43, under root 1vṛ (2), and root str).

From the 6th

√mrś, abhi—śārdūlasya guhām śūnyām nīcaḥ kroṣṭābhi-marśati / (Ś₁ K₁ °bhimarśati; K₀₋₄ N₁₋₃ B₁₋₆ Dn D₁₋₂₋₄ °bhimardati; K₂ N₃ V₁ B₅ Da °bhipadyate; K₃ °bhinardati; B₈ °vapadyate; T G₃₋₆ °timanyate. G₁₋₃ M abhi [G₁₋₃ M₈ adli:] tiṣṭhati [G₂ M₃₋₅ °ṣṭhamti] jambukaḥ [G₂ M₈₋₅ °kāḥ]) 1. 205. 8. For diiambic close. Probably under the influence of marśati from mrś, or a back-formation from causative marśayati. Root mrś is known to be conjugated according to the 6th class alone, from Vedic onward. The reading is however, not certain.

R̥gveda has once secate from root sic 'pour out' (see Roots). Pali has optative 3rd singular phasse from root sprś (Geiger, § 134). Prakrit has phāsaī, saṃphāse (= saṃ sparśet), from root sprś (Pischel, § 486). BS has present forms saṃsparśati, vi-sparśeyus, etc. from root sprś 'touch' (see Edgerton, chap. 43, under sprś (2)).

(iv) Change to the 1st conjugation from the 9th.

√mṛd, pari—Dhārtarāṣṭrān Bhīmasenaḥ sarvān sa pari-mardati / (Ko pari-mṛdnāti nityaśaḥ; K₈ N₃ sarvān pari-vi-mardati) 1. 119. 15. For diiambic close. Probably a back-formation from the causative mardayati which occurs from Epic onward.

√str, saṃ + ā—saṃāstarat 1. 28. 25 (already treated above)

Vedic has pavate etc. from root pū 'cleanse'; manthati etc. from root math, manth 'shake'; moṣatha from root muṣ 'steal'; (see Roots). The Rāmāyaṇa presents bandha 3.56.21

from root *bandh*; Pra-mathāmi 6. 96 [95]. 15 from root *manth*; pra-mardanti 2. 116. 17 from root *mṛd*. Prakrit has *gañṭhaī*=*grathnāti* from root *granth* (Pischel, §512); *bandhaī* *bandhanti* *bandhāmi* etc. from root *bandh* (Pischel, §513). BS has present indicative *ase* (= *aśe*, 1st singular middle) from root *aś* 'eat'; *bandhati*, imperative *ā-bandhāhi*, etc. from root *bandh* 'bind'; present imperative *ava-mardāhi* from root *mṛd* 'crush'; (see Edgerton, chap. 43, under 1 *aś* (2), *bandh* (1), and *mṛd*).

(v) Change to the 2nd conjugation from the 1st.

√*dhyai*, *anu*—*na hi kāryam anudhyāti bhāryā putravatī satī* / (T₁ G₁₋₂ *apadhyāti*. V₁ *Da anudhyāyati no kāryam*) 1. 224. 31 For avoiding hypermetric foot, and for *pathyā* close. The form *dhyāti* seems to have been formed to past passive participle *dhyāta* under the analogical influence of the pair *yāta*: *yāti*. Root *dhyai* is conjugated in the 2nd class from the Epic period (cf. *dhyāti* etc. 'E+' in Whitney's *Roots*).

Vedic has *trāsva trādhvam* from root *trai* (see *Roots*, under *trā* 'rescue'. Prakrit has *gāi gāu* from root *gai*; *jhāi* (=Epic *dhyāti*) from root *dhyai*; *gilāi* (=Epic *glāti*) from root *glai*; (Pischel, §479). BS presents present imperative *apacāhi* (see Edgerton, chap. 43, under (*apa*—) *cāy*, *revere*: (2).

(vi) Change to the 4th conjugation from the 2nd.

√*i*, *prati*+*adhi*—*ayaṃ ca me mahābhāga kuṣāv eva Bṛhaspate* | *Autathyo vedam atraiva śaḍaṅgam praty-adhīyata* // (S *Aucathyo garbha ādhatte śaḍaṅgam vedam uttamam*) 1.98.9. For avoiding catalectic foot. According to Hemacandra 4. 240 (cf. Pischel, §487; Edgerton, 28. 20), all the Prakrit roots and stems ending in a vowel, other than short *a*, may be conjugated according to 4th class, and this Prakritism seems responsible for the above formation.

√*vā*, *pra*—*vanāc ca vāyuḥ surabhiḥ pra-vāyet tasmin kāle tam ṛṣiṃ lobhayantyāḥ* / (K₂ N V₁ B₃₋₆ Dn D₁₋₄ T₂ *pra-vāyāt*; B₄₋₅ G₆ *pravāpayet*; D₃ *pravātu*; T₁ *pravāhayet*) 1. 65. 42. Not metri causa.

nilotpala—samo gandho yasyāḥ krośāt pra-vāyati /
($\dot{S}_1 \dot{N}_2 V_1 D_{1-2} G_5$ pradhāvati; $K_1 \text{ } ^\circ v\dot{y}i$ yati; $\dot{N}_1 B_3 D_{4-5} G_2$
°vāti ca; $\dot{N}_3 B_{1-5} M_{3-5} \text{ } ^\circ v\dot{a}ti$ vai; $B_{1m} G_1 \text{ } ^\circ y\dot{a}ti$ vai [G_1 ca])
1. 155. 43. For avoiding catalectic foot, and for diambic
close.

nilotpala-samo gandho yasyāḥ krośāt pra-vāyati / ($\dot{S}_1$
 $K_{1-4} D_6 G_5$ pra-dhāvati; $\dot{N}_{1-2} V_1 B$ [except B_3] Da Dn D_{1-3-4}
 M_3 pra-vāti vai [M_3 ca]. T_1 strīratnam abhirūpā hi śyāmā
nilotpalam yathā) 1. 175. 10. For the same reason as
stated above. Reading not certain. In these three cases as
well, the above observation of Hemacandra is applicable.
Root vā 'blow' is conjugated in the 4th class and as para-
smaipadī, from Vedic onwards.

Vedic has vāyati etc. from root vā 'blow' (see Roots,
under Ivā). The Rāmāyaṇa presents pra-vāyati 5. 13. 62
from root vā. Pali presents vāyati 'blows' from root vā, yāyati
'goes' from root yā; nahāyati 'bathes' = snāyati from root
snā; (see Geiger, § 138). Prakrit has pāāi from root pā
'protect'; vāāi vāanti etc. from root vā 'blow'; paḍi-hāadi from
root bhā 'shine'; pattiāasi pattiāadi etc. from root yā 'go'
compounded with prati; (Pischel, §487). BS has present
imperative ā-khyāyatha from (ā-)khyā 'tell'; present prati-
bhāyati °si °nti, present imperative prati-bhāyatu from root
bhā 'shine' compounded with prati; present optative nir-
yāyeyuh, present participle pra-yāyataḥ (genitive singular),
etc. from root yā 'go'; present optative nirvāyi from vā
'blow'; present imperative snāyāhi from root snā 'bathe';
(see Edgerton, chap. 43, under (ā-) khyā (1), 1 bhā (1),
yā (2), 2 vā (1), and snā (1).

(vii) Change to the 6th conjugation from the 1st.

√ruh, ā—āruhemām mama śronīm neṣyāmi tvām vihāyasā/($\dot{S}$
[except T_1 ; G_3 om.] ārohemām. $\dot{N}_3$ āruhemām mama
prṣṭham) 1. 140. 5. For the 2nd type of spondaic opening
in preference to the 1st. The form seems to be based on the
a-aorist aruhat which occurs from Vedic onward. The root
ruh is conjugated according to the 6th class for the first time.

in Epic. The above form may be regarded as a-aorist imperative as well; but compare ruheyam etc. ruha ruhāṇa 'V. B. S.' in Whitney's Roots Cf. ā-ruha, Rāmāyaṇa 6. 103. 36 (North western Recension).

Vedic has vṛṣate etc., vṛṣant—from root vṛṣ 'rain' (see Roots). The Rāmāyaṇa has āruhanti 7. 65. 15. (Bengal Recension). Pali has ā-rūhati (Geiger, § 133. 3). Prakrit has jiaī jianti, etc. from root jiv 'live'; ā-ruhai ā-ruhadu ā ruha, etc. from root ruh in conjunction with the prefix ā; (see Pischel, § 482). BS presents present optative ā-ruheyā from root ruh (see Edgerton, chap. 43. under ruh (2)

B. Change of Conjugation with Change of voice

(a) Active for middle

(i) Change to the 1st conjugation from the 2nd.

✓sū, pra—sadyo hi garbhaṃ rākṣasyo labhante pra-savanti ca |
(T₁ visravamti K₄ pramumcati ca kāmataḥ; N₃ labhamti prasavamti ca; G₁₋₂ sūyamte sadya eva hi) 1. 143. 32.
For diiambic close. Probably influenced by sūta, saviṣyati, according to the analogy of bhūta bhaviṣyati to bhavati. The oldest dated manuscript (N₃) supports the form. Root sū is conjugated according to the 1st class for the first time in Epic.

(ii) Change to the 2nd conjugation from the 1st (According to philologists, root trai belongs rather to the 4th class)

✓trai—jaraṭ-āroḥ purā dattā sā trāhy asmān sabāndhavān |
(K [K₁ missing] N₁₋₂ V₁ Dn D₁ [all om. sā] trāy.asvāsmān; G₁ samtrāhy asmān; M₁₋₅ satrād asmān) 1. 48. 24.

adharmāt trāhi mām rājan dharmam ca pratipādaya /
(Ko₃₋₄ B₅₋₆ D [except Da D₃] pāhi) 1. 77. 21.

tyaktravyām mām parityajya trātam sarvaṃ mayaikayā/
(V₁ Dn D₁₋₄₋₅ G₄₋₆ trāhi; Da G₁ trātum) 1. 147. 3.

trāhi tvam mām mahārāja patiṃ cemaṃ vimuñca
me / (K₂₋₄

Ō₂ V₁ BD [except D₈] trāyasva mām) 1. 158. 32.

trāhi mām bhagavan pāpād asmād dāruṇa-darśanāt / (Ō₁₋₂ V₁ BD G₃₋₅ pāhi) 1. 167. 21.

abhidhāvyā tataḥ sarvās tau trāhīti vicukruśuḥ / (K₀₋₃₋₄ tau trāyetām. Ō₁ trāhi trāhīti cukruśuḥ; M₆₋₈ trastās trāhīti cu^o) 1. 201. 14.

punnāmno narakāt putras trātīti pitaraṃ mune / (Ś₁ K₀₋₁₋₄ trātetī; K₂ Ō V₁ B D trāyate. G₁ trāyati K₃ pitaraṃ trāyate sutah; G₅₋₆ trāyateti purāmatam) 1. 220. 14.

All the above cases are for avoiding hypermetric foot. The forms seem to have been influenced by trāta trāsyate, according to the analogy of yāta yāsyati to yāti. Trāti trāhi etc. appear for the first time in Epic. Cf. trāhi Rā. 1. 45. 21 (bis); 1. 60. 19; 2. 107. 10; 2. 107. 14; 3. 59. 11; 3. 59. 13; etc. pari-trāti Rā. 5. 38. 44.

(b) Middle for Active

(i) Change to the 1st conjugation from the 2nd

√swap—yasya bāhū samāśritya sukhaṃ sarve swapāmahe / (Ō₁₋₂ V₁ B D śayāmahe; G₃ vasa^o) 1. 150. 7. For avoiding catalectic foot, and for diiambic close. Swapate etc. appear for the first time in Epic.

(ii) Change to the 1st conjugation from the 4th.

√śram, vi—pāṇīyaṃ mṛgayāmīha viśramadhvam iti prabho / (T₂ G^o yaṃ mṛgaye yāvat tāvad viśramyatām iha) 1. 138. 10. Probably influenced by the a-aorist āśramat and the causative śramayati. Śramati-te etc. appear for the first time in the Epic. Cf. vi-śrameta, Rā. 5. 1. 88; vi-śramasva, Rā. 6. 81. 86 (North Western Recension).

(iii) Change to the 2nd conjugation from the 4th.

√as, abhi—tad abhyāsa-kṛtaṃ matvā rātrāv abhy-asta Pāṇḍavaḥ / (Ś₁ K D₂ °vasyati; Ō₁₋₂ B Da Dn D₁₋₄ G₂ °vapi sa; T₂ G₄₋₅ rātryām api ca; G₆ °vatyāpi; M₆₋₈ °vābhyasta) 1. 123. 4.

The regular form abhy-a-asyat=abhyāsyat with the usual active ending would have made the 5th syllable of the

posterior pāda heavy, thereby violating the diiambic rule. Most of the versions avoid the irregular form. The form is perhaps recorded nowhere else. See further, our chapter on the present system, under Augmentless imperfect with change of both conjugation and voice.

Vedic has yotsi from root yudh 'fight' (see Roots).

There are also some present participles which show change of conjugation; these will be dealt with in the chapter on Verbal Adjectives and Nouns.

HARENDRA CHANDRA SIL

A Newly Discovered Inscription of Mahārāja Tejasimha of Mewar

There is a mediaeval religious structure situated on an elevated rocky surface on the bank of the Guḍelā Tank, about 4 miles from Delwādā, which is 3 miles from Ghāsā and about 22 miles from Udaipur city. The monument, approached by means of a flight of steps from the east, consists of a common *sabbhāmaṇḍapa* and three dilapidated small shrines (*devakulikās*) in a single row and containing the images of *lalitāsanastha* Hari, Hara and Brahmā from north to south. But for these mediaeval images, the whole structure is devoid of any ornamental detail or carvings. At the same time, the left hand side pillar of the porch, in front of Viṣṇu chapel, bears a small inscription of V. S. 1164, probably referring to its construction by an architect named Trivikrama (i. e. *Tivikrama* in line 3) during the regime of crown prince Durlabharāja (i.e. *Dulaharāja* in line 2):—

Line 1. ओ ॥ संवत् ११६४ श्रावण वदि ११ गुरौ ॥

Line 2. राजपुत्र श्रीदुलह^१राज सुत रा^२म.....

Line 3. सूतधार त्रिविक्रमस्य

It is thus evident that the structure was built during the first half of 12th century A. D. The order of the chapels and their construction, so close to each other suggests that the structure was originally intended to be a *Temple dedicated to Hari Hara Pitāmaha* and containing separate images of the three divinities in the principal back niches. This is corroborated by the epithet '*Tripurusa-deva* in lines 5 and 6 of an inscription of V. S. 1317

¹ *Ha* can be read as *bha* also. We do not know anything about this crown-prince and his father.

² *Ra* is not very clear. Following letters are indistinct because of moss-deposit on this line.

engraved on a well-dressed rectangular slab facing east and fixed into the wall between the chapels of Hari and Hara. The later record refers to the grant of one *mūḍī* of barley corn from the crop yield of village Guḍahā and likewise half a *mūḍī* of barley from village Mākāḍathalā for the deity *Tripurūṣadeva*, during the regime of Tejasiṃha, the paramount ruler of Mewar, at a time when his chief Minister *Mahattara Prasena Dhara* was in charge of the administration. The exact date of this award is *Samvat 1317, Sunday, 5th day of the dark-half of the month of Śrāvaṇa*. The inscription consists of 8 lines, first two being of very small letters and the last one consisting of two letters only:—

Line 1. ओं ॥ सं^३वत् १३१७ वर्षे श्रावण वदि ५ रवौ अथेह श्रीभेदपाट-
भूमंडले समस्त रा—

Line 2. जावली समलंकृत महाराजाधिराजश्रीतेजसिंहदेवकल्याण विजयराज्ये
त—

Line 3. नि^४युक्त महामाल्य ^५महं प्रसेनधर प्रतिपत्तौ

Line 4. गुडहाग्राम वागडवा^६रये तला^७व षलि^८—

Line 5. हाणे मध्ये राशिमध्ये त^९देव-श्री-विपु^{१०}—

Line 6. रुष दत्त ^{११}जव मूडी० १ तथा मा^{१२}कड—

Line 7. थलाग्रामे जव ^{१३}मूडी० ॥ अर्द्धदात—

Line 8. व्यं

3 i.e. संवत्. 4 i.e. तनियुक्त. 5 i.e. महत्तर, an epithet.

6 An obscure phrase, probably referring to modern 'Kharavadon Kā Guḍahā' in association with this particular village called गुडहा even at present.

7 i.e. Hindi तालाब, tank. The use of local words in this Sanskrit inscription is interesting.

8 i.e. खलिहान, a place where crop is stored on the field itself before it is finally removed to the villages. The use of this word is equally interesting.

9 i.e. रु.

10 i.e. Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha cited above.

11 i.e. यव, barley.

12 Another village in the vicinity of this temple. It is called by this name even now-a-days.

13 A particular measure for weighing corn.

Only two stone¹⁴ epigraphs of Mahārāṇā Teja Siṃha of Mewar were known so far i.e. the *Ghāghasā Inscription* of V. S. 1322 and the *Chittor Inscription* of V. S. 1324; the third record of course being the illustrated manuscript of *Śrāvaka-Pratikramanacūrṇi* copied at Āhār (near Udaipur) on Sunday, the 14th day of the bright half of Māgha month of V. S.¹⁵ 1317, when Samudvara was the chief Minister of Mahārāṇā Tejasimha. The Kadmāl Copper Plate of V.S. 1316 and dated in the regime of Tejasimha appears to be a spurious document.¹⁶ Under these circumstances, the newly discovered inscription of *Śrāvāṇa vadi* 5 of V.S. 1317, from Guḍelā Tank (near village Guḍahā), appears to be the earliest extant epigraph¹⁷ datable to the reign-period of Mahārāṇā Teja Siṃha of Mewar.

The use of some words of local Mewārī dialect, cited above, is equally interesting in the epigraph. *Mūḍī* recalls to our mind the Sanskrit word *mūṭaka* or *mūḍaka*,¹⁸ meaning a 'basket' probably containing corn of some definite quantity; *Mūṭaka* for weighing 'barley' as mentioned in the *Paramāra*¹⁹ Inscriptions; *Mūḍhaka* in the *Purātanaprabandhā-saṅgraha*²⁰ and *Mūḍa* in the commentary thereof. Lastly, the Gujrātī commentary of the *Gaṇitasāra*, datable to the middle of the 11th century, furnishes elaborate details about *Mūḍa* and its relationship with various weights and measures of lower denominations. According to this mediaeval text,²¹

4 माण = 1 सेइ

8 सेइ = 1 हार

14 H. C. Ray. *Dynastic History of N. India*, Calcutta, 1936, Vol. II, pp. 1190-91. *Annual Report of Ajmer Museum*, March 1927, p. 3.

15 Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 1190-91; Anand Coomaraswamy, *Eastern Art*, Vol. II, Philadelphia, 1930, pp. 236-240.

16 *Sodbhatrikā*, Hindī, Udaipur, III (3), March 1954, p. 53.

17 The Chief Minister now was Prasenadhara.

18 Monier Williams, *Sanskrit English Dict.*, 1899, p. 825.

19 D. C. Gangoly, *History of Paramara Dynasty*, 1933, Calcutta p. 243.

20 *Singhi Jain Series*, 1936, p. 80.

21 *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, VIII (2), 1946, pp. 141-42.

16 सेइ = 1 कलश

10 कलश = 1 मूड

20 हार = 1 मूड

Kalaśa was a measure of definite capacity according to ancient-Indian writers including Kauṭalya, Caraka etc. In Gujrat, *Kalasi* (i.e. *kalaśa*)²² denotes 16 'maunds'²³ of weight. Viewed in this light, one *mūḍa* would amount to 160, 'maunds'. It is just possible that *Mūḍi* of the Udaipur Inscription of V. S. 1317 was identical with *Mūḍa* weighing 160 'maunds'. The award of one²⁴ and further half *mūḍi* of barley to the temple of *Tripuruṣa-deva* of village Guḍahā in those days must have been sufficient for the purpose. The use of the word *mūḍi* in this solitary inscription of V. S. 1317 from Mewar is thus worth taking note of.

The newly discovered epigraph of V. S. 1317 furnishes the name of Prasenadhara as the chief Minister of Tejasimha in Śrāvaṇa month of V. S. 1317 where as Samudvara was holding this office in Māgha month of V. S. 1317.

A few geographical names, here, may be enumerated as *Medapāṭa* i.e. Mewar (Udaipur region); *Guḍahā*, a village near the Guḍelā tank and the existing temple; *Mākadathalā*, another village in the vicinity.

The inscription is equally important because of a specific reference to the existence of a temple dedicated to the well-known *Trayī* (i.e. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa) of the Brahmanic pantheon, a fact which is further corroborated by the architectural details of the monument. The latter is an important archaeological relic²⁵ of the 13th century as it throws considerable light on the contemporary history, art and architecture of Mewar.

Mention may also be made of an extract from the Jaina

22 So often referred to in Chauhan Inscriptions.

23 B. J. Sandesara, *J. of Num. Soc., op. cit.*, p. 146.

24 i.e. 640 माणा or 160 सेइ of barley. If that be so, 1 सेइ would amount to 1 'maund'.

manuscript *Pākṣikavṛitti* which was written at Āghāṭapur (modern Āhār—near the railway station of Udaipur) in V.S. 1309: —

संवत् १३०९ वर्षे माघवदि १४ सोमे स्वस्ति श्रीमदाघाटे महाराजाधिराज
भगवन्नारायणद्विगा उत्तराधोरामानमर्दनश्रीजयतसिंहदेवतत्पट्टविभूषण राजाश्रिते
जयसिंघविजय राज्ये तत्पादपदेपजीविनिमहं श्रीतल्हणप्रतिपत्तौ श्रीश्रीकरणदिसमस्त-
व्यापारान्परिपंथयतीत्येवं काले प्रवर्तमाने ४० वयजलेन पाक्षिकवृत्तिर्लिखितेति ॥

as cited by G. H. Ojha (*History of Udaipur*, Hindī, I, V.S. 1985, p. 167) who correctly identifies Jayata Siṃha with Guhila ruler Jaitrasimha of Mewar and father of Tejasimha, But the identification of other ruler with feudal lord Jayasimha does not seem to be plausible. The phrase राजाश्रिते जयसिंघ विजयरज्ये may be interpreted as राजा श्रीतेजयसिंघ विजयरज्ये, that is, referring to Tejasimha, the paramount ruler of Āhār in V. S. 1309. He graced the throne [तत्पट्टविभूषण] once occupied by Jaitrasimha. This interpretation may be regarded considerably cogent because of the fact that reference to Jayasimha as the feudal lord during the sway of Jaitrasimha at Āhār, on the eve of the compilation of the manuscript at Āhār itself is quite inappropriate. When *Jayata Siṃha* can be identified as Jaitra Siṃha, *Tejayasimha* can well be interpreted to mean Tejasimha—the worthy successor of famous Jaitra-simha. If this is corroborated by any epigraphic or literary evidence, the beginning of the regime of Tejasimha can be pushed back to the month of Māgha of V.S. 1309 instead of V. S. 1317. The problem awaits further scrutiny before we propound any definite view regarding regnal years for Tejasimha prior to V. S. 1317.

R. C. AGRAWALA

25 I am obliged to Nathu Lal Ji Vyas of Udaipur for the trouble he took in accompanying me to this particular edifice on 15-12-1960,

Place-names in the Garuḍa Purāṇa

(Alphabetically arranged)

In the following pages a list of place-names and tīrthas found in the Garuḍa Purāṇa has been given. The place-name has been noticed by Nundalal Dey (D), Bimala Churn Law (L) and Pandurang Vaman Kane (K) in their geographical works, and by A. B. Keith (V) and V. R. R. Dikshitar (P) in their

L=Historical Geography of Ancient India. By Bimala Churn Law. Paris, Societe Asiatique de Paris, [1954] Printed in Calcutta V+354p., 24cm.

V=Vedic Index of names and subjects By Arthur Anthony Macdonell and Arthur Berriedale Keith. London, John Murray, 1912. 2 vols (XVI+544; +592+p.).

[Reprinted by Motilal Banarasidass, Varanasi, 1958].

Indian Texts Series.

D=The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India. By Nundo Lal Dey. 2nd. ed. [Printed by C. Wollen at the British India Press, Mazgaon, Bombay.] London, Luzac & Co. 1927. X+262P., 1 map, cm. Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 21. E. 13.

P=The Purāṇa Index. By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar. University of Madras, 1951-1955. 3 vols. 25 cm. Madras University Historical Series, no. 19. Printed at G. S. Press, Madras.

Vol. 1. A—N. i-xxxvi+i—660

2. T—M. 1—746

3. uca—H. 1—786

[Purāṇas indexed; Bhāgavata; Brahmāṇḍa; Matsya; Vāyu; Viṣṇu].

K=History of Dharmaśāstra (Ancient and Mediaeval Religious and Civil law in India). Vol 4, sec. 4—Chapter 16—List of Tīrthas, pp. 723-827. Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1953.

indexes, it is indicated by the letters D, L, etc. as explained here.

In preparing this index I have followed the Vaṅgavāsī edition of the Garuḍa Purāṇa.

Place names in the Garuḍa Purāṇa

1. Agnidhārā (also Kapilā) (P₁ 314 ; L. 317)
A river, LXXXIII. 71 b.
2. Aṅga—[D. 7; P. I. 20; L. 42-4; 204-209; V₁. II]
A country in the S. E. of Bhā. LIV. 13a.
3. Anutaptā—(P. I. 57, 58)
A river in the Pl. D., LVI. 4a.
4. Andhakāraka—(P. I. 68)
A mt. in Kr. D., LVI, 12 a.
5. Andhra—[D. 7; P. I. 69; L. 140; V₁. 23]
A country and people in the S. of Bhā. LV. 6 b.
6. Abhīśāha—(P. I. 80)
A country in the N. E. of Bhā. LV. 19 b.
7. Amarakaṇṭaka—[K. 732; D. 4; P. I. 81; L. 303]
A tīrtha, LXXXI. 9 b.
8. Amṛtā—(P. I. 85)
A river in Pl. D., LVI. 4 b.
9. Aṃbaṣṭha—[D. 6; P. I. 90; L. 65; V₁. 69]
A country in the S. W. of Bhā. IV. 15 a.
10. Ayodhyā—[K. 736; D. 14; P. I. 95; L. 142; 67-9]
(a) A tīrtha, LXXXI. 7 b.
(b) A kingdom; (established by Kauśika), CXXXII. 18a.;
CXLVI, 14b.; CXLVII. 12b, 14a, 45b, 51^b
11. Arbuda—[K. 734; D. 10; P. I. 111; L. 304]
A country, Niṣāda king in, CXXIV. 4 a.
12. Āśmaka—[D. 12; P. I. 123, 139; L. 142]
A country in the S. W. of Bhā. LV. 14 a.

“Ā”

13. Ānartta—[D. 7; P. I. 159; L. 276]
A country in the S. W. of Bhā. LV. 15 b.

14. Ikṣu—(K. 757; D. 77; P. I. 182; L. 86; Ikṣumatī)
 - (i) A sea surrounding Pl. D., LIV. 6 b.
 - (ii) A river in Śāka-D., LVI, 15 b.
15. Indra-Dvīpa—(P. I. 194)

One of the nine parts of Bhā. LV. 4 b.
16. Indraprastha—(K. 758; D. 77; P. I. 196; L. 86)

A city, CXLIX, 13 b.
17. Irāvati—[K. 758; D. 79; P. I. 200; L. 86]

A tīrtha, LXXXI, 22 a.
18. Ilāvṛta—(P. I. 202)

One of the varṣas, LIV. 11 b.; it is the middle portion of J. D., LV. 1a.
19. Ujjayinī—[K. 815; D. 209; P. I. 212; L. 305-8; 332-3]

Mahākāla tīrtha in, LXXXI, 10 a.
20. [Udaka] samudra—[P. 3. 540]

XLVIII, 42 b.
21. Udbhida—(P. I. 228)

A varṣa in Kuśa D. LVI, 8 b.
22. Unnata—(P. I. 229)

A mt. in Śāl. D. LVI. 6 a.
23. Uṣṇa—(P. I. 250)

A varṣa in Krauñca D. LVI. 11 b.
24. Ṛkṣa—(K. 796; D. 168; P. I. 260; L. 328)

One of the mt. of J. D., LV. 7 a.
25. Ṛṣikulyā—(K. 797; D. 169; P. I. 273)

A river in Bhā. LV. 10 a.
26. Ṛṣyamūka—[K. 797 (Ṛṣyavanta); D. 169; P. I. 274; L. 186]

A mountain, CXLVII, 25 b.
27. Ekacakrā—(D. 59)

A city, CXLIX, 11 a.
28. Ekāmra[ka] (K. 750; P. I. 278)

A tīrtha, LXXXI, 11 b.
29. Kaṅka—(P. I. 297)

^ in Śāl. D., LVI. 6 b.

30. Kaṭāha—

One of the nine parts of Bhā. LV. 5 a.

31. Kanakā—(K. 762; P. I. 306)

A river, LXXXIII, 24 a.

32. Kanakhala—(K. 762; D. 88; P. I. 306; L. 89)

A mahātīrtha, LXXXI, 29 b.; LXXXIV, 9 a. (N. of Muṇḍapṛṣṭha).

33. Kapālamocana—(K. 763; D. 90; P. I. 309)

A tīrtha, LII, 7 b.

34. Kapila—(P. I. 312-3)

A varṣa in Kuśa D. LVI, 8 c,

35. Kamboja—(P. I. 319; L. 88; V₁. 138)

A country in the S. W. of Bhā. LV. 14 b.

36. Karṇāṭa—[D. 94; P. I. 326; L. 160]

A country in the S. W. of Bhā. LV. 14 b.

37. Kalasāpura—[P. I. 331]

Padmarāga maṇi [foreign विजातीय], available in LXX, 21 a; (तूषोपसर्गादधिकृतः), LXX, 22 a.

38. Kalinga—(D. 85; P. I. 332; L. 156-9)

A country in the S. E. of Bhā. LV. 13 a; Diamond (सुवर्णवत्, LXVIII, 18 b) found in, LXVIII, 17 a.

39. Kaśerumat—(P. I. 340)

One of the nine parts of Bhā. LV. 4 b.

40. Kāñcīpurī—(K. 762; D. 88; P. I. 345; L. 161)

A tīrtha, LXXXI, 8 a.

41. Kāmatīrtha—(K. 761; P. I. 350)

LXXXI, 9 b.

42. Kāmarūpa—(D. 87; P. I. 351; L. 226-8)

A mahātīrtha where Kāmākhya resides, LXXXI, 16 a.

43. Kāmbhoja—(D. 87; P. I. 354)

A country in the S. W. of Bhā. LV. 15 a.

44. Kālāñjara—(K. 760; D. 84; P. I. 361-2).

A mahātīrtha, LXXXI, 19 a.

45. Kārttikeya—(K. 765; D. 95; P. I. 357)

A tīrtha, LXXXI, 9 a.

46. Kālagādi—[P. I. 359 (काल mt.)]
 Pulakamaṇi available in, LXXVII, 2 a.
47. Kālasarpis—[K. 761; P. I. 364]
 A tīrtha, LXXXI, 10 b.
48. Kālindī—[K. 761; D. 85; P. I. 367]
 A tīrtha, CXXVII, 10 b.
49. Kāvera—
 Country where तैलस्फटिकमणि available, LXXIX, 12.
50. Kāverī—[K. 767; D. 97; P. I. 369-70; L. 38, 162]
 A river in Bhā. LV. 8b; LV 10 a.
 A tīrtha, LXXXI, 11 a.; 17 b.;
51. Kāśā—[P. I. 372. R. Kāśika from Suktimanta]
 A river in Kuśa D. LVI, 10 b.
52. Kāśmīra—[K. 765; D. 95; P. I. 374; L. 97]
 A country in the N. W. of Bhā. LV. 19 b.
53. Kāśaya—[P. I. 372]
 A country in the E. of Bhā. LV. 12 b.
54. Kīmpuruṣa—[D. 100; P. I. 378]
 One of the Varṣas, LIV. 11 b.; it is a part of). D.
 and is to the South of Meru, LV, 2 a.
55. Kirāta—[D. 100; P. I. 379; L. 98; V. I. 157]
 A people to the E. of Bhā. LV. 6 a.
56. Kiṣkindhā—[D. 100; P. I. 380; K. 768; L. 21]
 CXLVII, 25 a.
57. Kīkaṭa—[D. 100; P. I. 381; V. I. 159]
 Jinasuta Buddha was born in, I, 33 b.; LXXXII.
 4 b.; LXXXIII. 1 a.
58. Kukudmān—
 A mountain in Śāl. D, LVI. 6 b.
59. Kunti—[D. 109]
 A country in the middle region of Bhā. LV. 11 b.
60. Kubjaka—[K. 771]
 Śrīdhara tīrtha & Hari tīrtha in, LXXXI, 10 a.
61. Kubjāmraka—[K. 771; D. 105; P. I. 395 कुब्जाग्रम्]
 A mahātīrtha, LXXXI. 10 b.

62. Kumāra—[K. 772; D 106; P.I. 397]
A varṣa in Sāka D, LVI, 14 b.
63. Kumāradhārā—[K. 772; P.I. 399 (?)]
A river, LXXXIII. 72 a.
64. Kumārī—[K. 772 (?); D. 107; P. I. 398; L. 169]
A river in Sāka D., LVI. 15 a.
65. Kumūda—[P. I. 399]
A mountain in Sāl. D., LVI. 6 a.
66. Kumudvatī—[K. 772, P. I. 401]
A river in Kr. D., LVI. 13 a.
67. Kuru—[P. I. 406; L. 50; V₁. 166]
(i) One of the varṣas, LIV. 12 a.; it is to the north of Meru mountain, LV. 3 b.
(ii) A country in the middle region of Bhā. LV. 11 a.
68. Kurukṣetra—[K. 773, D. 110; P. I. 406; L. 101; V₁. 169]
A tīrtha, LXVI, 6 b.; LXXXI, 4 a.; LXXXIV. 4 b.
LXXXV, 23 b.; CXXVII. 10 a.; CXLIX. 23 a.
69. Kuśā—[P. I. 412]
One of the seven Dvīpas—LIV. 5 b.; it is surrounded by Sarpisamudra, LIV. 6 b.; Jyotisman, king of Kuśa D. which is divided into 7 varṣa according to the name of his 7 sons, LVI. 8 a.
70. Kuśāvarta—[K. 773; D. 111; P. I. 414]
A mahā tīrtha, LXXXI. 29a.
71. Kusumoda—[P. I. 418]
A varṣa in Sāka D. LVI. 14b.
72. Kuśāla:—[P.I. 113]
A varṣa in Krauñca D. LVI. 11b, Diamond (कीतवर्ण) found in, LXVIII, 17a.
73. Kuśēśaya—[K. 773; P. I. 416]
A mountain in Kuśa D., LVI 9b.
74. Kṛtāsauca—[K. 771; P.I. 428]
A mahā tīrtha, LXXXI. 20a.
75. Kṛṣṇavenī—[K. 770-1; P. I. 453; D. 104]
A river in Bhā. LV. 9a; A tīrtha, LXXXI. 22a.

76. Ketumāla—[D. 99; P. I. 457]
One of the varṣas, LIV. 13b; it is to the W. of Meru mountain., LV. 3a.
77. Ketumālā—[K. 768; L. 98 (Ketumatī)]
A river in Bhā. LV. 9b.
78. Kerala:—[D. 98; P. I. 459; L. 163]
Vidruma maṇi available in, LXXX, 1a.
79. Kokāmukha—[K. 768; D. 101]
A tīrtha, LXXXI. 15a.
80. Koṇagiri,
A mahātīrtha, LXXXI. 27b.
81. Kolāva—
A country in the N. E. of bhā. LV. 19a.
82. Kośala—[D. 103; P. I. 468; V₁. 190; L. 99]
A country in the E. of Bhā. LV. 12b.
83. Kaubera—
Pearl available in, LXIX. 23 b.
84. Kramu—[P. I. 480]
A river in Pl. D., LVI. 4 a.
85. Krauñca—[K. 770; D. 104; P. I. 484]
(i) One of the seven Dvipas: LIV. 5 b; it is surrounded by Dadhisamudra, LIV. 6 b; King Dyotimat & his 7 sons of, LVI. 11 a.
(ii) A mountain in Kr. D., LVI. 12 a.
86. Kṣīra Samudra: [P. I. 490]
XLVIII, 42. b; LXXXII. 4 a.
87. Khaśa—[D. 99; P. I. 498]
A country in the N. W. of Bhā. LV. 17 a.
88. Khyatī—[P. I. 501]
A river in Kr. D., LVI. 13 b.
89. Gaṅgā Sāgar Saṅgam,—[D. 62, 171; P.I. 502]
A tīrtha, LXXXI. 2 a.
90. Gaṅgā—[K. 751; D. 61; P.I. 501; L. 77, 152; V₁. 217]
A tīrtha, LXVI. 7a; LXX, 4a; LXXXI. 1 a, 2 a; CXXVII. 10 b.

91. Gaṅgādvāra—[K. 751; D. 62; P. I. 502; L. 33]
A tīrtha, LXXXI. 29a.
92. Gaṇḍakī—[K. 751; D. 60; P. I. 507; L. 75]
A tīrtha, LXXXI. 22 a.
93. Gabhastimat—[P. I. 513]
One of the nine parts of Bhā. LV. 4 b.
94. Gabhastī—[P. I. 513]
A river in Śāka-D., LVI. 15 b.
95. Gayā—[K. 752; D. 64; P. I. 515; L. 219]
A tīrtha, LXVI. 6 a; LXXXI. 31 b; LXXXII, 1 a-18 b; LXXXIII to LXXXVI; CXLVII. 48 b.
96. Gāndhāra—[D. 60; P. I. 528; L. 52, 76, 306; V₁. 219]
A country in the N. of Bhā. LV. 18a.
97. Gokaṛṇa—[K. 753; D. 70; P. I. 544; L. 79, 153]
A mahā tīrtha LXXXI. 19a.
98. Godā—[D. 69; P₃. 546 ?]
A tīrtha, LXVI. 7a.
99. Godāvarī—[K. 753; D. 69; P. I. 546; L. 22, 37-8]
A river in Bhā. LV. 9a; mahātīrtha, LXXXI. 18a.
100. Gomatī—[K. 745; D. 70; P. I. 551; L. 80; V₁. 238]
A river in Bhā. LV. 8b.; a tīrtha, LXXXI. 7b.
101. Gomēda—[P. I. 552]
A mt. in Pl. D., LVI. 3a.
102. Govardhana [K. 754; D. 72; P. I. 554; L. 21, 80, 284] A mahā tīrtha, LXXXI. 21b; mountain CXLVIII. 4a
103. Gaurī—[K. 752; D. 63; P. I. 560; L. 29]
A river in Kr. D., LVI. 13a.
104. Ghaṇṭā—[P. I. 566]
A country in the S. W. of Bhā. LV. 14b.
105. Ghr̥ta Samudra—[P. I. 568]
XLVIII. 42b.
106. Candra—[D. 47; L. 146 Candragiri; P. I. 582]
A mt. in Pl. D., LVI. 3a.

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107. Candrabhāgā—[K. 742 ; D. 47 ; P.I. 585; L. 29, 72]
A tīrtha, LXVI, 7a; LXXXI. 11a.
A river in Bhā. LV. 9b.
108. Candrā—[D. 47; P. I. 587]
A river in Śāl D., LVI. 7a.
109. Cāraṇa—
A sacred place in Kīkata deśa;—rivers in, LXXXIII. 1b.
110. Cītrakūṭa—[K. 744 ; P. I. 601 ; L. 20, 73, 313-4]
LXXXI. 7b; CXLVI. 11b; CXLVII. 11a, 14b.
111. Cīna—[D. 44; P. I. 610; L. 73]
तैलस्फटिकमणि available in LXXIX, 1a.
112. Cedī—[D. 48 ; P. I. 611 ; L. 42-3, 49, 312-3]
A country in the E. of Bhā. LV. 12a.
113. Jambu Dvīpa—[D. 80 ; P. I. 629 ; L. 9.]
One of the seven Dvīpas; LIV 5a; it is surrounded
by Lavaṇasamudra, LIV. 6b ; 7b, 11a. (King
Agnidhra);
114. Jambūsara—
A mahātīrtha, LXXXI. 12b.
115. Jalada—[P. I. 642]
A varṣa in Śāka D. LVI. 14b.
116. Jala-samudra—
One of the seven oceans ; it surrounds Puṣkara
D., LIV. 6b; LVI. 20.
117. Jīmūta—(P. I. 651)
(1) A country in the S. W. of Bhā. LV. 14a.
(2) A varṣa in Śālmali D, LVI, 5b.
118. Taṇkaṇa—(P. I. 660)
A country in the N. E. of Bhā. LV. 19a.
119. Tāpī—(K. 812; D. 204; P. 2, 13; L. 36, 330)
A river in Bhā, LV, 8b; tīrtha, LXXXI, 27a.
120. Tāmraparṇa—(P. 2. 16)
Pearl available in, LXIX, 23a.
121. Tāmraparṇī—(K. 812; D. 203; P. 2. 16; L. 192)
A river in Bhā. LV. 9b.

122. Tāmravarṇa—(P. 2. 17)
One of the nine parts of Bhā, LV. 4b.
123. Tuṅgabhadrā—(K. 814; D. 207; P. 2. 28; L. 38, 196)
A tīrtha, LXXXI, 8a.
124. Tumberu—(D. 207)
Padmarāgamaṇi available here is विजातीय
ताम्रमावात् निकृष्ट, LXX. 21a, 22a.
125. Turaṣka—(D. 207)
A country in the N. of Bhā, LV. 6b.
126. Tuṣāra—(D. 207; P. 2. 31)
A country in the N. W. of Bhā. LV. 17a.
127. Toyā—(K. 812; P. 2. 37)
A river in Śāl. D. LVI, 7a.
128. Trigarta—(D. 205; P. 2. 43; L. 131)
A country in the N.E. of Bhā. LV. 19a.
129. Tridivā—(K. 813; P. 2. 44)
A river in Pl. D., LVI. 4a.
130. Dakṣiṇāpatha—(D. 52; P. 2. 64; L. 12, 14; V₁. 336)
The southern region of Bhā. LV. 14b.
131. Daṇḍakāraṇya—(K. 745; D. 2. 52; P. 65; L. 41, 280)
CXLVI. 11b.
CXLVII. 15a.
132. Dadhisamudra—(P. 2. 68)
A sea surrounding Krauñca D., LIV. 6b;
XLVIII, 42b.
133. Dāsārṇa—(K. 745; D. 54; L. 314)
Pulaka maṇi available in, LXXVII, 2a.
134. Dūgdhasamudra—
A sea surrounding Śāka-D., LIV. 6b.
135. Dundubhi—(P. 2. 99)
(a) A mt. in Pl. D., LVI. 3a.
(b) A mt. in Kr. D., LVI. 12b.
(c) A varṣa in Kr. D., LVI. 11c.
136. Devaka—(D. 54)
A country where blue Vaidūrya maṇi available,
LXXX, 2b.

137. Devakūṭaka—(K. 746. देवकूट ; P. 2. 115)
A tīrtha, LXXXI. 11b.
138. Devāvṛt—(P. 2. 132)
A mountain in Kr. D., LVI. 12b.
139. Dyutimat—(P. 2. 137)
A mt. in Kuśa-D., LVI. 9a.
140. Drāviḍa—(D. 57 ; P. 2. 140; L. 150)
A country in the S. W. of Bhā. I.V. 15a.
141. Drōṇa—(D. 58; P. 2. 144)
A mt. in Śāl. D., LVI. 6a.
142. Dvārakā—(K. 748; D. 58; P. 2. 146; L. 282)
A tīrtha, LXVI, 6a; LXXXI, 5a;
(Dvāravatī) CXLIX. 15a.
144. Dhātakī—(P. 2. 167)
A varṣa in Puṣkara, LVI, 16a.
145. Dhūtapāpā—(K. 747; D. 57; P. 2. 174)
A river in Kuśa D, LVI. 10a.
146. Dhenukā—(P. 2. 185)
A river in Śāka-D., LVI. 15a.
147. Dhṛti—(P. 2. 180)
A varṣa in Kuśa D, LV, 8b.
148. Nandigrāma—(K. 784; D. 138; P. 2. 200)
CXLVII. 14a.
149. Nanditīrtha—(K. 784; D. 138; P. 2. 200)
LXXXI. 21a.
150. Nayarāṣṭra—(P. 2. 215 (Navarāṣṭra))
A country in the S. W. of Bhā. LV 14a.
151. Narmadā—(K. 785; D. 138; P. 2. 210; L. 36, 305, 323)
1. A tīrtha, LXVI. 7a; LXXXI. 18b,
2. A river in Bhā. LV. 8a,
3. Indragopa maṇi available in lower provinces,
LXXVIII, 1b
152. Nalinī—(K. 784; D. 137; P. 2. 213)
A river in Śāka-D, LVI. 15a.

153. Nāga—(D. 135; P. 2. 217)
A country in the N. of Bhā, LV, 18a
154. Nāgadvīpa—(P. 2. 219)
One of the nine parts of Bhā, LV. 5a
155. Nābhi—(K. 783)
One of the varṣas, LIV, 11b; 13a
156. Nārada—(K. 784; P. 2. 229)
A mt. in Pl. D, LVI, 3a
157. Nāsikya mahātīrtha,—(K 785; D. 139; P. 2. 235;
L. 290)
LXXXI. 21b.
158. Nāstika country and people in the W. of Bhā, LV. 16a
159. Niṣadha—(K 786; D. 141; L. 325)
(i) A mt. to the S. of Meru, LIV. 9b;
(ii) A country in the W. of Bhā, LV. 16b
160. Nīla—(K 785; P. 2. 252)
(i) A mt. to the N. of Meru, LVI, 9c; LXXXI. 29a.
(ii) A country N. E. of Bhā, LV, 19a.
161. Nepāla—(K 785; D 140; P. 2. 263; L. 113)
तैलस्फटिकमणि available in, LXXXI. 1a
162. Naimiṣa—(K. 783; D. 135; P. 2. 265; L. 41, 113)
A tīrth, I. 3b; III. 1a; LXVI. 6a;
LXXXI. 7a; CXXVII. 10a.
163. Paṭachchara—(D. 150; P. 2. 278)
A country in the middle-region of Bhā, LV. 11a.
164. Padmavana—(P. 2. 283)
Karketana, LXXV, 1a.
- 164a. Padma—(D. 143)
A country in the E. of Bhā, LV. 12a
165. Payasvinī—(K. 790; D. 156; P. 2. 286)
A river in Bhā, LV. 10a.
166. Payoṣṇī—(K. 790; D. 156; P. 2. 287; L. 326)
A river in Bhā, LV. 8b; LXXXI. 18a.
167. Pavitrā—(P. 2. 305)
A river in Kuśa-D., LVI. 10a.

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- 167a. Pāñcāla—(D. 145; P. 2. 308; L. 42, 50, 63, 115; V. 468)
A country in the middle-region of Bhā. LV. 11a;
CXLIX. 12a.
168. Pātāliputra—(D. 151; L. 45, 249-51)
A city, CXXXII. 8b.
169. Pātālaloka—(P. 2. 312)
Pearl available in, LXIX. 24b.
170. Pāṇḍya—(D. 147 P. 2. 311; L. 180)
Pearl available in, LXIX. 23b.
171. Paraloka—(D. 148)
Pearl available in, LXIX, 23a.
172. Pāraśava—
Pearl available in, LXIX, 23a.
173. Pārasīka—(D. 149; P. 2. 316)
Pearl available in, LXIX. 24b.
174. Pāribhadra—(P. 2. 318)
A mt. in Bhā. LV. 7b.
- 174a. Pīvara [Ka] (P. 2, 337)
A varṣa in Krauñca D, LVI, 11b.
175. Pāśupata tīrtha—(K. 789; D. 150; P. 2. 324)
LXXXI. 14b.
- 175a. Puṇḍarīkavat—(D. 161; P. 2 339)
A mt. in Kr. D, LVI. 12b.
176. Puṇḍarīkā—(K 793; P. 2, 339)
A river in Kr. D, LVI. 13b.
177. Puṇḍra—(D. 161; P. 2. 340; V. 536)
Pearl available in river of, LXIX. 24a.
A country in the S. E. of Bhā. LV. 13a.
Diamond (श्यामवर्ण LXVIII. 18c) available in,
LXVIII, 17a.
178. Puṇḍravardhana—(D. 161; P. 2. 340; L. 7, 246-8)
A mahā tīrtha where Kārtikeya resides, LXXXI. 16b
179. Pulinda—(D. 161; P. 2. 360; L. 184)
A country in the S. W. of Bhā. LV. 14a.

180. Puṣkara—(K 793; D. 163; P. 2. 363; L. 41)
One of the seven Dvīpas; LIV. 5b; it is surrounded by the sea of (LVI. 18b) water, LIV. 6b; LVI, 16a, (king Śabala); Description of Puṣkara D, LVI, 19-20; a tīrtha, LXVI. 6a; LXXXI, 7a.
181. Puṣpavat—(P. 2. 370)
A mt. in Kuśa-D, LVI. 9a,
182. Prayāga—[K 792; D 160; P. 2. 426; L. 117-8]
A tīrtha, LXVI. 6b; LXXXI, 2b
183. Prabhākara—(P. 2. 421)
A varṣa in Kuśa D, LVI, 8c
184. Prabhāsa—(K. 791; D. 157; P. 2. 422; L. 117, 293.)
A tīrtha, LXXXI. 4b; CXXXVII. 10a.
185. Plakṣa—(P. 2. 451)
One of the seven Dvīpas; it is surrounded by Ikṣusamudra, LIV. 6b. 10a; its king Medhātithi and his 7 sons, LVI. 1a, 2b.
186. Phalgu—(K. 790; D. 156; P. 2. 453; L. 32, 251)
A river, tīrtha, LII, 26a; LXXXIII. 4b, 22b; LXXXIV. 13a, 14a, 20a.
187. Badarikāśrama—(K. 737; D. 15; P. 3. 455; L. 69)
—A hermitage of Vyāsa, II. 2a; LXXXI. 65
- 187a Balāhaka—(P. 3. 467)
A mountain in Śāl. D, LVI. 6a
- 187b Bāhlika—(D. 15; P. 2. 482)
A country in the N. of Bhā. LV. 18a.
190. Brahmaputra—(K. 741, 774; D. 40; L. 34, 213)
A country in N. E. of Bhā. LV. 19a.
191. Brahmeśakṣetra—
A tīrtha, LXXXI. 11b.
190. Bhadrāśva—(P. 2. 535)
One of the varṣas, LIV. 12a; it is to the E. of Meru, LV. 1a.
191. Bhāṇḍira tīrtha—(K. 738; P. 2. 550)
LXXXI. 15a.

192. Bhārata—(D. 32; P. 2. 553)
One of the varṣas; it is to the S. of Meru, LV. 2b;
4a; divided into 9 regions. LV. 4-5.
193. Bhīmarathī—(K. 739; D. 33; P. 2. 564; L. 144)
A river in Bhā. LV. 9a; Bhīmaratha tīrtha,
LXXXI. 22a.
194. Bhr̥gutuṅga—(K. 739; D. 34; L. 72)
A tīrtha; LXXXI. 9b.
195. Magadha—(D. 116; P. 2. 592; L. 42, 44-5, 208,
232-34; V₂. 116)
A country in the E. of Bhā, LV. 12a
- 195a. Mataṅga—(D. 127; P. 2. 600)
A mt. where diamonds (ईषत् पीतम् 18c) are found;
LXVIII, 17a.
196. Matsya—(D. 128; P. 2. 602; L. 42, 51, 320; V₂. 121)
A country in the middle region of Bhā. LV 11a.
197. Madra—(D. 116; P. 2. 609; L. 105; V. 2. 123)
A country in the N. of Bhā. LV. 18a,
198. Madhyadeśa—(D. 116; P. 2. 614; L. 12; V. 2. 125)
The middle region of Bhā. drinks river water. LV.
10c; consists of Pañcāla, Kuru, Matsya, Yaudheya,
Paṭaccara, Kuntī, Śūrasena countries LV, 11b.
199. Mañicaka—(P. 2. 595)
A varṣa in Śāka D., LVI. 14b.
200. Manojavā—(P. 2. 624)
A river in Kr. D., LVI. 13a.
201. Mandarācala—(K. 779; D. 124; P. 2. 629; L. 21)
A mt. in Kuśa-D., LVI. 9b.; CXLVI. 3b, 9b.
Mahā tīrtha, LXXXI. 15b.
202. Mandaga—
A varṣa in Kruñca D, LVI. 11b.
- 202.a. Martya Gaṅgā—
A river in Bhārata, LV. 10a.
203. Malaya—(K. 778; D. 122, P. 2. 644; L. 22, 172-3)
A mt. in Bhārata LV. 7a.

204. Mahākāla—(K. 776; P. 2. 648)
A tīrtha, LXVI, 7b.
205. Mahākeśa—(P. 2. 649)
A country in the N. W. of Bhā. LV. 17b.
206. Mahākeśi—
A tīrtha, LXXXI. 11a.
207. Mahādruma—(P. 1. 651)
A varṣa in Śāka D. LVI. 14c.
208. Mahānadī—(K. 776; D. 117; P. 2. 654; L. 22, 37, 235)
A river in Bhā, LV. 9a; LXXXIV, 5c; LXXXV. 23a.
209. Mahānāda—(K. 776; P. 2. 654)
A country in the N. W. of Bhā. LV. 17b;
tīrtha. LXXXI 12a.
210. Mahāvīra—(P. 2. 665 महवीर्य ; L. 125, 307)
A varṣa in Puṣkara D, LVI, 16a.
211. Mahāśaila—
A mt. in Kr. D., LVI, 12b.
212. Mahiṣa—(D. 120; P. 2. 668)
A mt. in Śāl-D., LVI. 6a.
213. Mahī—(K. 777; D. 119; P. 2. 670; L. 105, 288)
A river in Kuśa-D., LVI. 10b.
214. Mahendra—(K. 777; D. 119; P. 2. 671; L. 22)
A mt. in Bhā. IV. 7a; tīrtha, LXXXI. 17b.
215. Māṇḍavya—(K. 779; P. 2. 676; V. 2. 148)
A country in the N. W. of Bhā, LV. 17a.
216. Mānasa—(P. 2. 686)
A varṣa in Śāl D., LVI. 5c
217. Mānasa—(K. 778-9; D. 123; P. 2. 685; L. 111, 122)
tīrtha, LXXXIV (in North) 6a.; (in South), 7a.
218. Mānasottara—(P. 2. 684)
A mt. in Puṣkara D., LVI, 16b.
219. Māhiṣmatī—(K. 777; D. 120; P. 2. 701; L. 174, 305, 322)
Mahā tīrtha, LXXXI. 19a.

200. Mithilā—(D. 130; P. 2. 708; L. 236-9)
 Yājñavalkya in, XCIII. 2a.
221. Muṇḍaprṣṭa—(K. 782; D. 134; P. 2. 713)
 Mahā tīrtha; LXXXIII. 2a; LXXXIV. 9b, 26a.
 LXXXVI. 4a. 5a.
222. Muni—(P. 2. 716)
 A varṣa in Krauñca D., LVI, 11c.
223. Muṣa—(P. 2. 718; L. 175, 289 muṣika)
 A country in the N. W. of Bhārata, LV. 17a.
224. Mūlaka—(D. 133; L. 175-6)
 A country in the S. E. of Bhā, LV. 13a.
225. Mulika—
 A country in the N. W. of Bhā. LV. 17a.
226. Mēkala—(K. 781; D. 130; P. 2. 728; L. 20)
 Pulaka maṇi available in LXXVII, 2a.
227. Meru—(D. 130; P. 2. 736; L. 111, 175)
 A mt. in Jambu D. LIV. 7b; LV. 2.
228. Modā(r)ki—[P. 2. 742 Modāka]
 A varṣa in Śāka D, LVI. 14c.
229. Mleccha—(P. 2. 745; V. 2. 181)
 country in the W. of Bhā. LV. 16a.
 Living in Himāchala, N. of Bhārata; LV. 18b.
230. Yamunā—(K. 824; D. 215; P. 3. 16; L. 34, 36, 135;
 V. 2. 186)
 CXXVII. 10b.
231. Yavana—(D. 215; P. 3. 20; L. 136-7)
 country and people to the W. of Bhā. LV. 6a,
 16a; तैलस्फटिकमणि available, LXXXIX. 1a.
232. Yoni—(D. 216; P. 3. 39)
 A river in Śāl-D., LVI. 7a.
233. Yaudheya—(D. 215; P. 3. 40; L. 342-3)
 A country in the middle region of Bhā. LV. 11a.
234. Ramiya (Ramyaka)—(P. 3. 56)
 One of the varṣas, LIV. 12a; in the W. N. of
 Meru, LV. 3a.

235. Rājagrha—(K. 795; D. 165; P. 3. 63; L. 254-5)
Mahātīrtha in Kīkatadeśa, LXXXIII, 1a.
236. Rātri—(P. 3. 70)
A river in Kr. D., LVI. 13a.
237. Rāmagiri—(K. 795; D. 165)
A tīrtha, LXXXI. 8a.
238. Rāmeśwara—(K. 795; D. 166; P. 3. 77; L. 185)
A tīrtha, LXXXI. 9a.
239. Rāvaṇa Gaṅgā—
A sacred river in Sīṁhala, LXX. 4b.
Pearl and other gems available, LXX, 5-7.
240. Revā—(K. 796; D. 168;; p. 3. 99; L. 238; V. 2. 226)
A tīrtha, CXXVII, 10 b
241. Romaka—
Country where blue Vaidurya maṇi available, LXXX, 2b.
242. Rohita—(D. 170; P. 3. 105; V. 2. 228)
A varṣa in Śālmali D., LVI, 5 b.
243. Laṅkāpurī—(D. 113; P. 3. 112)
CXLVI. 13a; CXLVII. 21b, 36b, 38a, 39b.
244. Lambaka(Lampaka)—(D. 113; P₃ 113)
A country in the N. of Bhā. LV. 18a.
245. Lambana—(P₃ 115)
A varṣa in Kuśa D, LVI, 8b.
246. Lavaṇa—(P₃ 118)
One of the seven seas; it surrounds the Jambu D., LIV, 6b.
247. Lāṭa—(D. 114; L. 287)
A country in the S. W. of Bhā. LV. 15a.
248. Lokāloka—(P₃ 127; L. 170)
A mt. beyond the Svādudaka-samudra which surrounds the Puṣkara D., LVI. 20a.
- 248a. Lohadaṇḍa—(P. 3. 129; D. 115;)
A Mahātīrtha where Mahāviṣṇu resides, LXXXI, 15b.
249. Vaṅga—(D. 22; P₃ 135; L. 59, 267-9; V₂ 237)
A country in the S. E. of Bhā. LV. 13a.

250. Vana—(D. 21)
A tirtha in Kīkatadeśa, LXXXIII, 1a.
251. Varadā—(D. 23; P₃. 152; L. 38, 199, 341)
A river in Bhā. LV. 8a; LXXXI. 18a.
254. Vāgadava—
Pulakamaṇi available in, LXXVII. 2a.
255. Vāmana—(K. 817; P₃. 193)
A mt. in Kr. D., LVI. 12a.
256. Vārāṇasī—(K. 618-42, 818; D. 23; P₃. 197; L. 42, 46, 94, 208)
A tirtha, LII. 7b; LXVI, 6b; LXXXI. 3b; LXXXIV. 5b.
257. Vārāha—(K. 818; D. 23; P₃. 199)
A tirtha, LXXXI. 15a.
258. Vāruṇa—(D. 26; P₃. 201)
One of the parts of Bhā. LV. 5.
259. Vidarbha—(D. 34; P₃. 225; L. 340-1; V₂. 297)
A country in the S. E. of Bhārata, LV. 13a.
260. Vidarbhā—(K. 820; D. 35)
A river in Bhā. LV. 10b.
261. Vidura—
A mountain, LXXIII, 3a; near it in Kāmabhūtika
Vaidūrya maṇi available, LXXIII. 3b.
262. Videha—(D. 35; P₃. 229; V₂. 299)
A country in the E. of Bhā. LV. 12b.
263. Vidyudamb(h)ā—(P₃. 233)
A river in Kuśa-D., LVI. 10b.
264. Vidruma—(P₃. 234)
A mt. in Kuśa-D., LVI. 9a.
265. Vidhṛti—
A river in Śāl-D., LVI. 7b.
266. Vināyaka—(K. 821; P₃. 239)
A maha tirtha, LXXXI. 8a.
267. Bindusaras—(K. 740; D. 38; P₃. 484)
A tirtha, LXXXI. 22b.

268. Vindhya—(K. 821; D. 37; P₃. 240; L. 19, 20, 36)
 (1) A mt. in Bhā. LV. 7b; Countries in the region of this mt. are in S. E. Bhā. LV. 13b.
 (2) तैलस्फटिकमणि available, LXXIX. 1a; tīrtha, LXXXI. 18b. 29a.
269. Vindhyaśaila—
 Where Niśāda (Son of Veṇu), dwarf and black used to live, VI. 6b.
270. Vipāśā—(K. 821; D. 38; P₃. 243; L. 134)
 A river in Pl. D., LVI. 4a; tīrtha, LXXXI. 11a.
271. Vimocanī—(P₃. 252)
 A river in Śāl-D., LVI. 7a.
272. Virajā—(K. 822; D. 38; P₃. 254)
 A mahā tīrtha; LXXXI. 17a.
273. Viraja—(K. 822)
 A mahātīrtha; LXXXI. 20b; LXXXIV. 4b.
274. Viśāla—(P₃. 263 Viśalya)
 Mahātīrtha; LXXXIV. 4b.
275. Viśāla—(K. 822; D. 39; P₃. 265)
 A country; LXXXIV. 34a; CXLII. 11a.
276. Veṇukā—(P₃. 324)
 A river in Śāka-D., LVI. 15b.
277. Veṇumān—(P₃. 315)
 A varṣa in Kuśa D, LVI, 8b.
278. Veṇvātata—(Veṇvā, P₃. 316)
 Diamond found, LXVIII, 17b; स्पर्शप्रमहीरक available, LXVIII, 18a.
279. Vedasmṛti—(K. 819; D. 28; P₃. 321)
 A river in Bhā. LV. 8a.
280. Vaitaraṇī—(K. 817; D. 18; P₃. 328; L. 37, 198, 267)
 A river, LXXXIII. 61b.
281. Vaidyuta—(D. 16; P₃. 331)
 A varṣa in Śāl. D. LVI. 5c.
282. Vaibhrāja—[D. 16. lake; P₃. 333; L. 265 (?)]
 A mt. in Pl. D., LVI. 3b.

- 282a. Vairatha—(P. 3. 334;);
A varṣa in Kuśa D., LVI, 8b.
283. Śaka—(P. 3. 354; L. 295)
A country in the S. W. of Bhā. LV. 15a.
184. Śatadrū—(K 803; D. 182; P. 3. 371; L. 30. 121)
A river in Bhā. LV. 10b.
285. Śāka—(D. 172; P. 3. 397)
One of the seven Dvipas, LIV. 5b; it is surrounded by Dugdhasamudra, LIV. 6b; king Bhavya, LVI, 14a.
286. Śāmbhala grāma—(K 799; D. 176; P. 3. 385)
Kedāra tīrtha in, LXXXI. 6a; CXLIX. 40a.
287. Śālagrāma—(K. 799; D. 174; P. 3. 409; L. 187)
A tīrth, LIV, 13b; LXVI. 6a; LXXXI, 14b.
288. Śālmala—(D. 175?; P. 3. 411)
One of the seven Dvipas, LIV. 5a; it is surrounded by Surāsamudra, LIV. 6b; Vapuṣmān, king of, LVI. 5a.
289. Śikhī—(K. 804, P. 3. 415)
A river in Pl. D., LVI. 4.
290. Śivā—(P. 3. 429; V. 2. 381)
(i) A river in Bhā. LV. 8a.
(ii) A river in Kuśa-D., LVI. 10a.
291. Sūkara—(K. 808, D. 195)
A tīrtha, LXVI. 6b.
292. Suktimat—(K. 808; D. 196; P. 3. 438)
A mt. in Bhā. LV. 7a.
293. Suklā—(P. 3. 444)
A river in Śāl-D., LVI. 7a.
294. Sukratīrtha—(K. 808; P. 3. 442)
LXXXI. 19b.
295. Sūrasena—(D. 197; P. 3. 457; L. 42. 51)
A country in the middle region of Bhā. LV. 11b.
296. Śṛīṅgavēra—(K 807; D. 192; P. 3. 460?; L. 128, 261)
CXLVI. 11b; CXLVII. 10b.
297. Śṛīṅgīn—(P. 3. 460)
A mt. to the N. of Meru, LIV. 9c.

298. *Soṇa river*—(K 806; D. 188; P₃ 466; L. 128)
Mahā tīrtha, LXXXI 12a; LXXXIV. 5b.
299. *Śrīkṣetra*—(K 806; D. 191; L. 189) .
A tīrtha, LXVI. 7b.
300. *Śrīpuruṣottama*—(K 793; D. 162);
A tīrtha, LXXXI. 17a.
301. *Śrīraṅgapattana*—(K. 807; D. 193; P₃ 483; L. 189)
A mahātīrtha, LXXXI. 27a.
302. *Śrīsaila*—(D. 193, P₃ 484)
A tīrtha, LXXXI. 8b.
303. *Sveta*—(K. 811; D. 200; P₃ 495; L. 191 (?))
1) A mt. to the N. of Meru. LIV. 9c.
2) A varṣa in Śālmala D. LVI, 5b.
3) An island where Viṣṇu resides, II. 28a;
LXXXI. 7a; CC. 12a.
304. *Saṅgam*—(D. 177)
A tīrtha on the confluence of Gaṅgā, Jamuna &
Sarasvatī, LII. 6a.
305. *Sandhyā*—(K. 800, D. 176, P₃ 529)
A river in Kr. D., LVI. 13a.
306. *Saptagodāvar*—(K. 801; D. 178; P₃ 531)
A tīrtha, LXXXI. 17b.
307. *Sammati*—(P₃ 545)
A river in Kuśa-D., LVI. 10a.
308. *Sarayū*—(K. 803; D. 181; P₃ 553; L. 120; V₂ 433)
A river in Bhā. LV. 8b.
309. *Sarasvatī*—(K. 802; D. 180; P₃ L. 14 553; V₂ 434)
(i) A river in Bhārata, LV. 9b; LII. 6a, CXXVII.
10b.
(ii) A tīrtha, LXVI. 7a; LXXXI. 5b.
310. *Sahya*—(K. 798; D. 171; P₃ 576; L. 21. 186)
A mt. in Bhā LV. 7a; Ekavīra mahā tīrtha in—,
LXXXI. 28b.
311. *Sarpisamudra*—
One of the seven seas, it surrounds the Kuśa-D.,
LIV. 6b.

312. *Sagara*—(D. 171)
One of the nine parts of Bhārata, surrounded by sea, LV. 5b.
1). Rāvaṇa G. river in —, LXX. 3a.
313. *Simhala*—(D. 185; P₃. 603)
(1) One of the nine parts of Bhārata, LV. 5.
(2) Pearl available in, LXIX. 23a; 24b; 38b (used by people of).
(3) Kṛṣṇavarṇa Padmarāga maṇi in, LXX. 21a; 22b; Indranīla maṇi in—, LXXV. 1a;
314. *Sukāmāra*—(P₃. 608)
A varṣa in Śāka. D, LVI. 14b.
315. *Sukumārī*—(K. 809; D. 196; P₃. 608)
A river in Śāka-D., LVI. 13a.
316. *Sukṛtā*—(P₃. 609)
A river in Pl. D., LVI. 4b.
317. *Suprabha*—(P₃. 641)
A varṣa in Śāl. D. LVI. 5c.
318. *Sumanas*—(D. 196?; P₃. 650)
A mt. in Pl. D., LVI. 3b.
319. *Surasā*—(K. 809; P₃. 660)
A river in Bhā. LV. 8a.
320. *Surāsamudra*—(P₃. 662)
One of the seven seas; it surrounds Śāl. D., LIV. 6b.
321. *Surāṣṭra*—(D. 197; P₃. 663; L. 297-8; 305)
Diamond found here, LXVIII. 17a; 18a (ताम्रवर्ण)
322. *Sūta*—
A country in the E. of Bhā. LV. 12a.
323. *Setubandha*—(K. 804; D. 184; P₃. 689)
A tīrtha, LII. 7a; LXXXI. 8b.
324. *Saindhava*—(Sindhu) (D. 186; P₃. 692; L. 8; V₈. 473)
A country in the W. of Bhā. LV. 16a.
325. *Somaka*—(D. 188; P₃. 696)
A mt. in Pl. D., LVI. 3b.

326. Sauvīra—(D. 183; P₃. 709)
Diamond found, LXVIII, 17b; 18a (असिताब्ज मेघसदृश)
327. Saurāṣṭra—(D. 183; P₃. 708)
Pearl available, LXIX. 23a.
328. Stana—(D. 194)
A country in N. of Bhā. LV. 18a.
329. Strīmukha—
A country in the S. W. of Bhā. LV. 15a.
330. Strīrājya—(D. 194; P₃. 716 strīrāṣṭra;)
A country in the W. of Bhā. LV. 15a.
331. Svarṇākṣa—
A mahātīrtha, LXXXI. 20b.
332. Svāmī—(K. 810; D. 199)
A tīrtha, LXXXI. 15a.
333. Hari—(K. 756; D. 236; P₃. 747)
A mt. in Kuśa-D., LVI. 9b.
334. Hārīta varṣa—(P₃. 750)
In Sālmali D., LVI. 5a.
335. Haridvāra—(K. 755; D. 74; L. 81)
A tīrtha, LXXXI, 2a; Gaṅgā is most sacred here.
336. Harivarṣa—(D. 74; P₃. 752)
One of the varṣas. LIV. 11b; it is to the S. W. of Meru, LV. 2b.
337. Hātaka Hemakā—(D. 74; L. 29)
(= Virāta). Pearl available, LXIX. 23b.
338. Himavat—(K. 756; D. 75; P₃. 767; V₂. 503; L. 81)
(1) Pusparāga maṇi available, LXXIV, 1a.
(2) A mt. to the S. of Meru, LIV. 9b.
(3) Bhīṣmaka maṇi available in—LXXVI, 1a.
339. Himācala—(L. 81)
A mt. populated by Mlecchas in the N. of Bhā. LV. 18b.
340. Hiraṇmaya (Hiraṇvat)—(D. 76. P₃. 768)
One of the varṣas, LIV. 12a; it is to the E. S. of Meru, LV. 1b.

341. Hemakūṭa—(K. 756; D. 75; P₃. 779)
A mt. to the S. of Meru, LIV. 9b)
342. Hemaśaila—(P₃. 781)
A mt. in Kuśa-D., LVI. 9a.
343. Haima parvata—
Diamond found, LXVIII, 17a-18a.

SIBADAS CHAUDHURI

MISCELLANY

An Interesting Inscription of Caubāna Siṃharāja

The Harṣa Nāth Inscription of V. S. 1030 (973 A.D.) and dated in the reign-period of Caubāna Vigharāja II refers to the conquests of his predecessor Siṃharāja and construction of the well known Śiva Temple of Harṣa Nath near Sīkar, on the 13th day of the bright half of the month of Āṣāḍha of *Vikrama Samvat* 1013 (*El.*, II, p. 124, verse 18 ; *IA.*, XLII, pp. 60, ff. i.e. संवत् १०१३ आषाढ सुदि १३ शंभोः प्रसाद सिद्धिः in line 23). In this inscription, Siṃharāja's predecessor Vākpatirāja I has been given the epithet of *Mahārāja* only whereas in line 34, Siṃharāja is called *Mahārājādhirāja*,¹ a fact which is confirmed by the hitherto very little known inscription of V.S. 1013 in the Śiva Temple at Pīthānwālā (near Merta City, Jodhpur ; now connected with Bus Service from Merta City to Puṣkara). The Pīthānwālā Inscription, of the 4th day of the bright half of the month of Pauṣa of V.S. 1013, specifically refers to the contemporary ruler *Siṃgharāja* (i.e. Siṃharāja) and the awards by his *Mahāntaka* named Durggarāja,² son of Caheraka and others. Durggarāja has been referred to many times therein.

The Pīthānwālā Inscription is therefore the solitary independent and extant record of the regime of Siṃharāja, and the Śiva Temple of Harṣa Nath appears to have been built during the lifetime of Siṃharāja, who, according to the Prthvīrāja-Vijaya-Mahākavya (V, verse 45), is said to have built a Śiva Temple at Puṣkara itself (cf. Dashratha Sharma, op. cit., p. 230). Pt. B. N. Reu, who published the text of this inscription in the Administrative Report of Jodhpur Museum and S. P. Library at Jodhpur for year 1941, Jodhpur p. 5, Appendix A, is doubtful

¹ H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of N. India*, Calcutta, Vol. II, 1936, p. 1064. Dasharath Sharma, *Early Caubāna Dynasties*, 1959, Delhi, pp. 230-32.

² He was the prominent figure regarding the award of the donations.

about the exact identification of Simharāja. But the same epithet *Mahārājādhirāja* for Simharāja in both the epigraphs, same year for Simharāja (i.e. *Samvat* 1013) and religious activities of Simharāja at Puškara seem to confirm the fact that the ruler of Thānwala³ record is none else than the Cauhāna ruler Simharāja, the successor of Vākpatirāja I and predecessor of Vigharāja II. It is regretted that the Pithānwālā Inscription escaped the notice of most of the historians⁴ and may therefore be presented here as deciphered by B. N. Reu (*op. cit.*):—

- Line 1. ॐ संवत् १०१३ पौषसुदि ४ आदित्यग्रहणे महारा—
 „ 2 जाधिराज श्रीसिंघराजः सत्कमहंतकः दुर्गराजः
 „ 3 चहेरकसुतः देवब्राह्मणरतः नंदाग्रामभूमौ⁵
 „ 4 श्रीरत्नादित्यदेवस्य शासनं ददाति । दीपा...धूप तै—
 „ 5 वेद्य धवलात्रणादिभिः (?) श्रेयार्थेन देवस्य तथा च । स दत्ति
 „ 6 लिङ्गञ्च । मांलहण दत्ति चोडोञ्च । तथा श्रीधर द—
 „ 7 ति केदारकं । तथा सीलट दत्ति चालुकंदर चेतं तथा
 „ 8 मोचाडदाति उडुहापदिका तथा पावुञ्च दत्ति साल—
 „ 9 जं (?) तथा मातुञ्च दत्ति...चेतं । गुगक दत्ति र (?)—
 „ 10 विम्वेतं तथा सावड दत्ति केदारकं । तथा तातदाति (आ)-
 „ 11 दित्य सत्कपदिका । तथा...ल दत्ति दाडिमकं ए-
 „ 12 तत्सर्वं दुर्गराजे (न) इत्युक्ताः अत्र कारा-
 „ 13 पकः दुर्गराजः...णः सावड सुतदा
 „ 14 मरुः पुष्कर (र)...तीयवाणि
 „ 15 चन्द्रपुत्रः
 „ 16 हुभिः [व] सु
 „ 17 स्य जदा
 „ 18 शासनं

The Pithānwālā Inscription of V. S. 1013 is of sufficient interest

3 Puškara is so near Pithānwālā and both the places are now connected by a regular bus-service.

4 There is no reference to this record in the works of Drs. Ojha, Sharma, Ray etc. It appears that the particular *Adm. Report of Sardar Museum Jodhpur* did not reach them for necessary reference.

5 Is it the ancient name of village Thānwālā? There is also a place called Nānda, 7 miles from Puškara.

as it confirms the regnal year of V.S. 1013 *Simharāja*.⁶ Besides this, it helps us in suggesting the name of the contemporary *Cauhāna* ruler on the eve of the completion of the construction⁷ work of the *Harṣa* Nath *Sikar* Temple by expert architect named *Caṇḍa-Siva*. Line 4 of the *Thānwalā* Inscription states clearly that the award was made for the god *रत्नादित्य* on the eve of *Āditya-grahaṇa*. Therefore the particular inscription might have originally belonged to some 10th century *Sun* Temple of *Simharāja*'s time. *Durgarāja* was the *Kārāpaka* (cf. lines 12-13). It was he who issued the order of the donations for the presiding deity *श्रीरत्नादित्यदेव* of this temple. Does this inscription really belong to the existing *Siva* Temple at *Thānwalā* or was it brought from some other temple of the vicinity? It is equally possible that this *Saiva* structure at *Thānwalā* was originally a *Sūrya* Temple and was converted into a *Saiva* edifice at some later date. The award therefor and that too on the eve of the Solar Eclipse (*आदित्यग्रहण*) was quite opportune. A contemporary stone relief presenting the *Seṣaśāyī* theme in a vivid manner and discovered at *Thānwalā* itself, has been preserved in the *Sardar Museum* at *Jodhpur*. The *Thānwalā* Inscription and the temple, both require scientific study by the epigraphists and scholars of *Cauhāna* history. We are of course not yet aware of any definite date regarding the accession of *Simharāja* to the *Cauhāna* throne; *very probably it was before Āṣāḍha month of V.S. 1013*. Similarly it is not possible to determine the last regnal year for this *Simharāja* and the beginning of the regime of his successor *Vigraharāja II* who was a paramount ruler in V.S. 1030. This is the earliest known date for *Vigraharāja*.

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6 It is of course regretted that there is no reference whatsoever to the lineage of *Simharāja* in this particular inscription from *Pithānwalā*.

7 D. R. Bhandarkar (*I. Ant.*, 1913, p. 58) was of the opinion that this temple was originally built by *Guvaka I*, one of the predecessors of *Simharāja*. In fact the Temple was completed in V. S. 1013 as stated in the *Harṣa* Nath Inscription cited above.

In a note recently published in this Quarterly¹ Dr. Dasaratha Sharma has drawn attention of scholars to references on certain historical events of the reign of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī in the Jain work *Nābhinandana-jinoddhāra-prabandha*. In verse III. 9 of this work it is said that the "armies of the Kharaparas roamed about in" Sultān Alāvadīna's country and "that he dealt with them in a manner that prevented their return."²

In spite of the mention of the Kharaparikas in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta³ and the Kharaparas in three Batihagadh inscriptions, one dated in V. S. 1385,⁴ another⁵ also probably of the same date and the third⁶ 'without any date', it is not understood why Dr. Sharma should have identified them with the Mongols,⁷ who are also said to have carried raids into the dominions of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. Dr. Sharma has given no grounds for this identification.

The Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta mentions the Kharaparikas as one of the peoples who paid taxes to Samudragupta, obeyed his commands and performed obeisance to him. The two dated Batihagadh inscriptions speak of one Julachī as the commander of the Kharapara armies and governor of the Cedi country. The third also refers to a certain commander of the Kharapara armies and governor of the Cedi country. Unfortunately the name of the Commander cannot be read and the date is not given. But in any case it cannot be any far distant from the date of the other two inscriptions at the same place.

Two of these Batihagadh inscriptions refer to Sultān Mahmūd of Yuginīpura, whose officer was Julachī.⁸ Mahmūd is a mistake for Muhammad, who may be identified with Muhammad

1 *IHQ.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 96 ff.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 97.

3 *CII.* Vol. III, p. 8.

4 Hiralal: *List of Inscriptions in C. P. & Berar*, No. 103, p. 58; *El.* Vol. XII, pp. 44 ff.

5 *Ibid.*, No. 104, pp. 58-59.

6 *Ibid.*, No. 105, p. 59.

7 *IHQ.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 98.

8 Hiralal: *op. cit.*, p. 58.

bin Tughluq⁹ as the date V.S. 1385 (A. D. 1328) would fall in his reign, which extended from 1325 to 1351 A. D. Yoginī-pura is the present Delhi.

This disproves Dr. Sharma's identification of the Kharaparas with the Mongols. The Kharaparas or Kharaparikas were a warlike tribal people living in the northern part of Damoh district and the southern parts of Tikamgaḍha and Panna districts of the present Madhya Pradesh. They were probably mercenary freebooters who fought for anybody for pay or plunder and loot. The region round about Batihagadh was conquered by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī in the year 1309 A.D., the date of a Bahmani inscription in which 'Alā-ud-dīn is mentioned as the Sultān of this region,¹⁰ from the Candela Hammīravarmman of Kālānjara whose name occurs in another Bahmani inscription dated in V. S. 1365¹¹ (1308 A.D.) of *Mahārājaputra* Śrī Vāghadeva of the Parihāra family and a feudatory of the Chandelas. Vāghadeva is also mentioned in a *Sati* record in Patan in the Jabalpur district and dated in V. S. 1361¹² (A.D. 1303) and in another at Salaiya, three miles from Banhāni, in the Damoh district and dated in V.S. 1362¹³ (A.D. 1304).

It was under the leadership of Vāghadeva probably that the Kharaparas were roaming about in the dominions of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, who was compelled to lead an expedition to exterminate them and to conquer these regions from the Candellas. Muhammad bin Tughluq thought it better to enlist these Kharapara freebooters into his service, and organised them into a fighting force. He appointed one Julachī as the commander of this force and also as the governor of the Cedi country in which the area inhabited by the Kharaparas,¹⁴ was included.

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9 Hiralal's identification (*List of Inscriptions in C.P. & Berar*, p. 58) of Mahmūd with Tughluq Mahmūd II cannot be accepted on chronological grounds.

10 Hiralal, *op. cit.* No. 101, p. 57.

11 *Ibid.*, No. 100.

12 *EL.*, Vol. XIII, p. 11, fn. 1.

13 *Ibid.* p. 11, fn. 2.

14 Also called Kharparas in one of these inscriptions at Batihagadha.

STUDIES IN THE EPICS AND PURĀṆAS. By A. D. Pusalker. Bhavan's Book University. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chaupatty, Bombay.

We have here a collection of papers written by the learned author from time to time on different aspects of the Epics and the Purāṇas. They were originally published in various journals and publications. The most important and by far the longest paper is the last one which gives a critical and bibliographical analysis of the voluminous works done by scholars here and abroad especially from about the second decade of the twentieth century, on the Epics and Purāṇas. It comprises more than two thirds of the entire volume, if the *Introduction*, which occasionally supplements the information given in the main work, particularly in regard to the early period, is taken into account. The analysis is fairly comprehensive but there are omissions of a few items here and there, e. g., M. S. Aney's *Rāmāyana Tradition in the present-day Ceylon* (Proceedings of the Fourteenth All-India Oriental Conference, Darbhanga, pp. 206-18). A number of important titles in some of the provincial languages have also been included. In connection with the *Bhagavadgītā* the omission of the most prominent contributions like those of Mahātmā Gandhī cannot escape one's notice. Five other papers constituting the first five sections of the work are the following: Purāṇic Cosmogony; Were the Purāṇas originally in the Prakrit? *Vāyu Purāṇa* versus *Śiva Purāṇa*; Kuruśravaṇa and Kuru-saṃvaraṇa; historicity of Kṛṣṇa. It will be seen that in almost all these papers, discussions centre round controversial issues, and the conclusions arrived at by the author on a critical evaluation of the prevalent views deserve careful consideration. He refutes Pargiter's theory of the Prakrit origin of the Purāṇas and explains the cases of so-called Prakritism as being 'due to the influence of popular speech on the transmitters and transcribers of the Purāṇas.' On the question of the rival claims of the *Vāyu* and *Śiva Purāṇa* to be included in the list of Mahāpurāṇas, a thorough scrutiny of the extant texts reveals, it is shewn, that the

'printed *Vāyu-Purāṇa* is a genuine Mahāpurāṇa and that the '*Śiva Purāṇa* is a late work not fit to be called a Mahāpurāṇa'. The question of the historicity of Kṛṣṇa on which scholars are sharply divided is discussed at length. The following are the conclusions reached on different aspects of the question : Kṛṣṇa was originally a real man, who had an important role in the Bhārata war which took place some time about 1400 B.C. ; his deification dates back prior to Buddha. The life-story of Kṛṣṇa reconstructed on the basis of Purāṇic and Epic accounts is an interesting feature of the section.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

Reviews

SOME PROBLEMS OF SANSKRIT POETICS. Sushil Kumar De, Professor Emeritus, Jadavpur University, Calcutta, and Honorary Fellow, Royal Asiatic Society. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta.

The volume contains a selection of monographs and articles, fifteen in all, of Dr. S. K. De published in various oriental journals and other works and dealing with different aspects of Sanskrit poetics, and with old texts pertaining to it along with their authors. The papers cover a wide range of interesting topics, viz., the problem of poetic expression; Bhāmaha's views on Guṇa; Anandavardhana on Saṁghaṭanā Gauḍī rīti; theory of rasa; Sāntarasa in Nāṭyaśāstra and Daśarūpaka; Ākhyāyikā and Kathā in Classical Sanskrit; Curtain in ancient Indian literature; Dhvanikāra and Anandavardhana; Bhānudatta; the problem of Bharata and Ādibharata; Mammaṭa's Kāvyaaprakāśa; Rasārṇavālaṁkāra of Prakāśavarṣa; the text of Kāvyaślokalocana IV. Students of Sanskrit literature will be thankful to the publishers for bringing together in a handy volume the valuable but scattered writings of a reputed scholar who is an authority on matters relating to Sanskrit poetics. It is a matter of gratification that the publishers are also engaged in reprinting other important but out of print works of the learned author.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

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D. THIBAUT'S ARGUMENTS

(AGAINST TILAK AND JACOBI)

87. The aim of T.'s book *The Orion*, and J.'s article in the *IA.*, "On the Date of the Rigveda" is, according to Th., essentially one and the same; both of them attempt to prove from astronomical data contained in the *Vedas*, and *Brāhmaṇas* that these point to a time much more ancient than has been generally assumed.¹ Th. points out that difference between the two scholars is that while J. is bent on proving the antiquity of the civilization, T. is putting emphasis on the antiquity of the *Vedas* themselves.

For Th., the important point for decision is: whether the passages in question can be properly explained only on the hypothesis that they embody astronomical observations made by Vedic Aryans in the early times assumed by both writers.²

88. Th. takes up the two passages, which "contain various statements as to the day on which the introductory ceremony of consecration (*dīkṣhā*) for the so-called gavām-ayana sacrifice is to begin." Not satisfied with others' renderings, Th. translates them himself. His translations are reproduced below.

Taitt. Sam., VII. 4. 8.—"Those who wish to consecrate themselves for a year (i.e., for the *gavām-ayana* which lasts a year) should consecrate themselves on (the day called) *ekāśṭakā*. For the *ekāśṭakā* is the wife of the year; in her he (i.e., the year) dwells that night. Manifestly beginning the year they (thus) consecrate themselves.—With a view to the injured (part) of the year consecrate themselves those who consecrate themselves on the *ekāśṭakā*; there are the two seasons whose name is 'end.' With a view to the reversed (*vyasta*) (part) of the year indeed consecrate themselves those who consecrate themselves on the *ekāśṭakā*; there are the two seasons whose name is 'end'.

"They should consecrate themselves on the Phalgunī full moon. The month of the year indeed is the Phalgun full moon; beginning

1 *IA.*, 1895, p. 85

2 According to J., the period referred to in the Vedic literature ranges from about 4500 B.C. to about 2500 B.C., while according to T., it is from about 5000 B.C. to about 3000 B.C. (*Arctic Home*). *IA.*, 1895, p. 85

3 *Ibid.*, p. 88

the year from the mouth they consecrate themselves. In this there is one fault, viz., that the *vishuvat*-day (the central day of the sacrifice) falls within the cloudy time. They should consecrate themselves on the Chitrā full moon. The mouth indeed of the year is the Chitrā full moon ; beginning the year from the mouth they consecrate themselves. In this there is not any fault.

"Four days before the full moon they should consecrate themselves ; for them the buying of the *soma* falls on the *ekāshṭakā* ; thereby they do not render the *ekāshṭakā* void. For them the pressing of the *soma* falls in the former (bright) half of the month. Their months are accomplished with a view to the former half. They rise (from the finished sacrifice) in the former half ; when they rise herbs and plants rise after them ; after them rises the fair fame. 'These sacrifices have prospered' ; after that all prosper."¹

Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa V. 9.—"They should consecrate themselves on the *ekāshṭakā*. For the *ekāshṭakā* is the wife of the year ; in her he dwells that night. Manifestly beginning the year they consecrate themselves. In this there is that fault that non-rejoicing they step down into the water. With a view to the cleft (*vichchhinna*) (part) of the year they consecrate themselves who consecrate themselves on the *ekāshṭakā* ; there are the two seasons whose name is 'end'. With a view to the injured (part) of the year they consecrate themselves who consecrate themselves with a view to the seasons called 'end'. Therefore the consecration is not to be performed on the *ekāshṭakā*.

"They should consecrate themselves in Phālguna. The mouth of the year indeed is the Phālgunī (full moon) ; beginning the year from the mouth they consecrate themselves.—In this there is the fault that the *Vishuvat*-day falls within the cloudy time. They should consecrate themselves on the Chitrā full moon. The eye indeed of the year is the Chitrā full moon ; on the side of the face is the eye ; from the face (i.e., beginning) commencing the year they consecrate themselves. In this there is no fault.—They should consecrate themselves four days before full moon. For them the buying of the *soma* falls on the *Vishuvat*, etc. etc. (without any essential divergence from the concluding portion of the *Taittirīya* passage)."²

¹ *IA.*, 1895, pp. 85, 86

² *Ibid.*, p. 86

89. Th. then makes a general remark as follows: "As the *gavām-ayana* is a festival celebration extending over a whole year, it is antecedently probable that it, or its introductory ceremony, should begin on some day which marked the beginning of the year, and that, therefore, the four different terms referred to in the passages above translated should represent either different beginnings of the year which were in use at one and the same time, or else, possibly, beginnings acknowledged at different periods."¹ Th. states that J. and T. adopt the latter view, and that T. assumes with the *Mīmāṃsakas* that the last term, viz., 'four days before the full moon' refers to the full moon of the month Māgha.

The *Taitt.-Sam.* and *Tāṇḍya-Br.* thus finally decide in favour of a beginning of the sacrificial year nearly coinciding with the civil beginning of the year. He further puts the whole case for T. in the following words: "It is probable that the civil year began on the day of the winter solstice, and we therefore may conclude that the two

Vedic books, which decide in favour of the *gavām-ayana* beginning on or about the full moon of Māgha, were composed in the period when the summer solstice was in the asterism Maghās. This agrees with the position which the *Veda*² assigns to Kṛittikās as the first of the Nakshatras; which position has always been explained as pointing back to the time when the vernal equinox was in Kṛittikās. Now Kṛittikās marked the vernal equinox, and Maghās the summer solstice, at about 2350 B.C., and this, therefore, is the time at which we must suppose the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* and similar works to have been composed. If then, we further find that the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* mentions two other terms for the beginning of the year-sacrifice, viz., the full moon in Phalgunī and Chitrā, we must conclude from analogy that those two terms also once marked the winter solstice; and the rules prescribing them thus lead us back to about 4000 and 6000 B.C.³ respectively. Those rules were remembered at the time when the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* was composed, but, as no longer agreeing with the actual state of things, were mentioned only to be set aside in favour of the rule then in accordance with reality, viz., the one which makes the winter solstice coincide with full moon in Maghās."⁴

1 *Ibid.*, p. 86

3 According to Tilak's *Orion*.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 86

4 *IA.*, 1895, pp. 86, 87

90. The statement by Th. quoted above gives a gist of the views of T. as found in the *Orion*. According to Th., J. supports the rule fixing the beginning of the year-sacrifice on the full moon in Phalgunī, which rule as J. says was prevalent from the time when the winter (sic) solstice occurred along with the full moon in Phalgunī, i.e., about 4500 B.C., in agreement with other Vedic passages making the summer solstice fall along with Phalgunī. Th. states that J. takes the last term (4 days before the full moon) to be connected with Citrā (Caitra) fullmoon and thinks it to be a later addition.¹

91. Th. feels that he has no right to declare the conclusions arrived at by J. and T. alike to be altogether impossible. "Vedic civilization and literature may be considerably older than has hitherto been supposed, and reminiscences of ancient observations may have been preserved in books themselves belonging to a much later period".² But before Th. accepts the conclusions of J. and T., he wants to be convinced that the passages on which the conclusions are based, admit of no other interpretation than that put on them.

"Are we really obliged, we must ask ourselves, to ascend with Jacobi and Tilak to 4000 B.C., and to follow the latter scholar even into the dim distance of 6000 B.C., or else to precipitate ourselves, with Jacobi, in the opposite direction as far down as 200 B.C.? Or is there, perhaps, after all, some means of reconciling the different statements as to the beginning of the *gavām-ayana* in such a way as to make them fit in with one and the same period, and that a period not too widely remote from the time to which works such as the *Taittiriya Saṃhitā* and *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* have hitherto been ascribed?" Th. endeavours to show that this can be accomplished and that conclusions arrived at by J. and T. cannot be upheld.³

92. Th. then discusses a passage from the *Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa* (XIX. 2. 3). He complains that T. has not discussed it.

1 *Ibid.*, p. 87

2 *Ibid.*, p. 87

3 *Ibid.*, p. 87

The *Kauṣītaki* pas-age. because, as Th. thinks, T. would have arrived at a different conclusion if he had taken sufficient notice of the *Kaus.* passage. We reproduce below the text in question which was omitted by Th., only its translation being given by him.

ते पुरस्तादेव दीक्षाप्रसवान् कल्पयन्ते तैषस्यामावास्याया एकाह उपरिष्ठादीक्षेरेन् माघस्य वेत्याहुस्तदुभयं व्युदितं तैषस्य त्वेवोदिततरमिव त एतं त्रयोदशमधिकरं मासमाप्नुवन्त्येतावान्वै संवत्सरो यदेप त्रयोदशो मास स्तत्रैव सर्वः संवत्सर आप्तो भवति ॥२॥

स वै माघस्यामावास्यायामुपवसत्युदङ्गुडावतस्यन्नुपेमेवसन्ति प्रायणीयेनातिरात्रेण यक्ष्यमाणास्तदेनं प्रथममाप्नुवन्ति तं चतुर्विंशेनाऽऽरभन्ते तदारम्भणीयस्याऽऽरम्भनीयत्वं स षण्मासानुदङ्गुडेति तमूर्ध्वैः षडहैरनुयन्ति स षण्मासानुदङ्गुडित्वा तिष्ठते दक्षिणाऽऽर्वतस्यन्नुपेमे वसन्ति वैषुवतीयेनाह्वा यक्ष्यमाणास्तदेनं द्वितीया-माप्नुवन्ति स षण्मासान् दक्षिणैति तमावृत्तैः षडहैरनुयन्ति स षण्मासान् दक्षिणे त्वातिष्ठत उदङ्गुडावतस्यन्नुपेमे वसन्ति महाव्रतीयेनाह्वा यक्ष्यमाणास्तदेनं तृतीया-माप्नुवन्ति तं यत् द्विराप्नुवन्ति त्रयोधा विहितो वै संवत्सरः संवत्सरस्यैवाऽऽप्त्यै तदुत्तैपाऽपि गीयते । अहोरात्राणि विदधदूर्णा वा इव धीर्यः षण्मासो दक्षिणा नित्यः षड्दङ्गुडेति सूर्य इति षड्द्व्येष उदङ्मासानेति षड्दक्षिणा तद्वै न तस्मिन् काले दीक्षेरेन्ननागतं सस्यं भवति दहरकान्यहानि भवन्ति संवेषमाना अवभृथादुदायन्ति तस्मादत्र न दीक्षेरेन्न तस्यामावास्याया एकाह उपरिष्ठादीक्षेरेन्ननागतं सस्यं भवति महान्यहानि भवन्त्यसंवेषमाना अवभृथादुदायन्ति तस्मादेतत् स्थितम् ॥३॥

“They are to consecrate themselves one day before¹ the new moon of Taisha², or of Māgha: thus they say. Both these (alternatives) are discussed; that of Taisha, however, is more agreed to, as it were.³ They (thus) obtain the additional thirteenth month. So great indeed is the year as that thirteenth month; then the whole year is obtained. He (the sun) indeed rests on the new moon

Translation of
the text by
Thibaut.

1 It should be ‘after’—evidently a printing mistake.

2 Taisha=Pauṣa

3 “Both of these views are current but that as to Taisha is the more current as it were.” —Keith, the *Rigvedic Brāhminas*, (Tr.), p. 452 [Tr. of passage from the *Kauṣ.-Br.*]

day of Māgha, being about to turn towards the north.¹ Thus they rest who are about to perform the rites of the *prāyanīya atirātra* (the first day on which *soma* is pressed). Thus they reach him [the sun] for the first time....He goes for six months towards the north²; they follow him with the ascending celebrations of six days each. He having gone six months towards the north³ stands still, being about to turn towards the south.⁴ Thus they stop, being about to perform the rites of the *Vaishuvatiya* day. Thus they reach him for the second time. He goes six months towards the south.⁵ They follow him with the returning celebrations of six days each. Having gone six months towards the south⁶ he stands still being about to turn towards the north.⁷ Thus they stop, being about to perform the rites of the *Mahāvratīya* day. Thus they reach him for the third time. Because they reach him three times, the year is arranged threefold; for obtaining the year (they do thus). About this there is sung a sacrificial stanza 'Arranging the days and nights like a wise spider; six months always towards the south and six towards the north wanders the sun'.⁸ For he goes six months towards the north, six towards the south.⁹

"They are not to consecrate themselves at that time. The grass has not yet come out, the days are short; shivering they come out of the *avabhṛitha*-bath. Therefore, they are not to consecrate

1 Keith translates the word as "northwards" and I think more properly. According to T., Uttarāyaṇa is susceptible of two interpretations, viz. (1) "turning towards the north from the southern-most point", (2) the passage of the sun into the northern hemisphere, i.e., to the north of the equator. If we adopt the first meaning, the Uttarāyaṇa and the year must be held to commence from the winter solstice, while if the second interpretation be correct, the Uttarāyaṇa and the year must have once commenced with the vernal equinox;the second of the two interpretations, given above, is more likely to be the older one. (Tilak, *The Orion*, p. 26). Keith's translation supports the second interpretation and Th.'s translation supports the first.

2 'He goes north for six months.' —Keith

3 'Having gone north for six months.' —Keith

4 'Being about to turn southwards.' —Keith

5 'He goes south for six months.' —Keith

6 'Having gone south for six months.' Keith

7 'Being about to turn north.' —Keith

8 'With regard to this this sacrificial verse is sung:

Obtaining the days and nights,

Like a cunning spider,

For six months south constantly,

For six north the sun goeth'—Keith

9 'For six months he goes north, six south'. —Keith

themselves then. They are to consecrate themselves one day after the new moon of Chaitra. The corn has come out then ; the days are long ; without shivering they come out of the *avabhritha*-bath. Therefore this is the established rule.”¹

From the above passage of the *Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa*, Th. finds three different terms for the beginning of the Gavāmayana :

Three different terms for beginning Gavāmayana are found by Thibaut.

- (1) the day following the new moon of Taiṣa ;
- (2) the day following the new moon of Māgha ;
- (3) the day following the new moon of Caitra.²

93. Th. thinks that the second term is a variation of the first. Hence he confines his attention to “that term which the [said] *Brāhmaṇa* declares to be preferable, i.e., the beginning of the *dikshā* on the day following on the new moon of Taiṣa.”³ Further, by new moon, Th. understands, following Vināyaka’s commentary on the *Kauṣ-Br.*, the new moon preceding the full moon of the particular month. He thinks, however, that this does not compel him to assume with Vināyaka that a month is reckoned from full moon to full moon so that the months would begin with the dark half (although to this also there would be no particular objection).⁴

Thibaut reduces the year-beginnings to two dates,—Taiṣa, and Caitra.

The interpretation of new moon by Thibaut.

94. “In the strict terminology of later times”, continues Th., “indeed the *amāvasyā* of Taiṣa could be the *amāvasyā* preceding the full moon in Tishya, only if the month Taiṣa were reckoned from full moon in Mṛgaśīras to full moon in Tishya ; while if it were reckoned from new moon to new moon, the *amāvasyā* of Taiṣa would mean the last *tithi* of the dark half following on full moon in Tishya and preceding full moon in Maghās. But there is no reason compelling us to assume such strictness of terminology for the time of the *Brāhmaṇa*, especially when we consider that new moon is, strictly speaking, not a lunar day, but only the moment when the dark half comes to an end and the light half begins ; so that the beginning of the first day of the

He finds no reason for strictness of terminology for the time of the *Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa*.

1 *IA.*, 1895, pp. 87, 88

2 The subject has been gone into a later para.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 88

4 *Ibid.*, p. 88

light half has as much right to be called 'amāvasyā' as the end of the last day of the dark half."¹

95. According to Th., as the Dikṣā begins one day after the new moon which precedes full moon in Tīṣya, celebration of *upavasatha* "which immediately precedes the first day on which Soma is pressed, falls on the new month of Māgha (i.e., the new moon preceding full moon in Maghās)".² He thinks this to be accurate, for from the day after Taiṣa new moon up to Māgha new moon there elapse 29 days, 17 of which go for Dikṣā, and 12 for Upasad. "The result of this arrangement is that the real celebration, as distinguished from all introductory ceremonies, begins together with the 'resting of the sun' before he starts on his progress towards the north. The text thus clearly indicates that what is to be aimed at is the coincidence of the beginning of the year-sacrifice with the winter solstice".³

96. The reason for preference of the next day to the new moon Why Citrā in Caitra, is that the season is more advanced and new moon is preferred. agreeable, the days are longer, and the water more pleasant for bathing.

97. In explaining the divergences in the year-beginning. Th. states that "The impression which the coupling of the two alternative beginnings thus leaves in our mind is that the original intention and practice of the Kaushītakins was to begin their year-sacrifice on the day of the winter solstice, thus following the sun in its upward course with the first six sacrificial months and again in its downward course with the latter six months. But gradually the sacrifice, as it happens in such cases, became more and more formal; the old beginning was no longer insisted upon, and a new one, more convenient in several respects, was substituted. But there is nothing to indicate that the two beginnings allowed are connected with beginnings of the civil year, recognised at different periods. Some sacrificers preferred the solstitial beginning, some the vernal one; that is all".⁴

98. Th. points out that the *Kaus.* passage has another

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 88

³ *Ibid.*, p. 88

² *Ibid.*, p. 88

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 89

The *Kaus̥ṭaki-Br.* states that the winter-solstice coincides with the new moon of Māgha, i.e., it occurs at the beginning of the white half of Māgha according to Thibaut. importance, viz., that it contains a definite statement regarding the relation of the lunar calendar of the time to the solar year. "It says that the winter-solstice coincides with the new moon of Māgha, i.e., with the new moon preceding full moon in Maghās." Th. finds here well-known ground, for a well-known doctrine of the *Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga* is that the winter solstice takes place at the beginning of the white half of Māgha (or the end of the *amāvasyā* of Pausa).²

99. All these facts lead Th. to conclude that the winter solstice itself is in *Śraviṣṭhās*, etc., etc.: in fact, from this the whole system 'of *Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga* follows' we must finally conclude that the *Kaus̥ṭaki-Brāhmaṇa*, "unless it be assumed to record observations made at an earlier time, belongs to the period when the winter-solstice was supposed to be in *Śraviṣṭhās*".⁴ In plain words, "the data which the *Kaus̥ṭaki-Brāhmaṇa* supplies concerning the beginning of the *gavām-ayana* do in no way lead us back into very ancient time".⁵ Th. then poses before himself the question, whether it is possible to interpret the *Taittirīya* and *Tāṇḍya* texts in a somewhat analogous way, and thus "connect them with one and the same period, not very distant from the period of the *Kaus̥ṭaki-Brāhmaṇa*". He goes on to enquire, if the alternative dates for *Dikṣā* given by the *Taitt.-Saṃ* and *Tāṇḍya-Br.* can be accounted for by the assumption that at one and the same time the *gavām-ayana* was optionally begun at different periods of the year, for reasons sufficiently valid to explain such differences, He finds the answer to be in the affirmative.⁶

100. Th. then examines the meaning of the passage that the full moon in Phalgunī is the mouth, i.e., beginning of the year. Th. says that "This statement, or the closely related one that 'the (month) Phālguna is the mouth of the year' occurs in numerous other places of the *Brāhmaṇas*, and must therefore be held to represent an opinion generally prevailing in what we may call the *Brāhmaṇa*-period. Where then has this beginning of the year to be placed? Either, we feel naturally

The expression, 'Phalgunī full moon is the mouth of the year', is being examined by Thibaut.

1 *Ibid.*, p. 892 *Ibid.*, p. 89. 1100 B.C. according to Thibaut.3 *IA.*, 1895, p. 894 *Ibid.*, p. 895 *Ibid.*, p. 896 *Ibid.*, p. 89

inclined to reply, at one of the solstices or at one of the equinoxes. Now that the solstices were, in India, looked upon as marking the beginning of the year we know positively from the *Jyotish Vedāṅga* and similar works (not to speak of the whole later literature), and also from the *Kaushītaki* passage discussed above; implies the view that the year-sacrifice is made to begin with the winter solstice for the winter solstice is viewed as the beginning of the natural or civil year. Moreover, the *Vedas* contain numerous references to the northern and southern progress of the sun, it, therefore, is antecedently probable that the solstices should have formed starting points for the civil year.¹ According to Th., the view of T. and J. that the Phalgunī full-moon once marked for the Indians the winter solstice is not unlikely. He disbelieves, however, that "the passages about the *gavām-ayana* in the two *Brāhmaṇas* should contain an agglomerate of rules that had originated at periods widely remote from each other, and we, moreover, have the direct statement of the *Kaushītakins* that the winter solstice happens on new moon preceding full moon in Maghās; we, therefore, may at any rate, attempt to account on other grounds for the statement that Phalgunī-full moon is the beginning of the year. Now, it is, of course, at once clear that, in the *Brāhmaṇa* period, full moon in Phalgunī could not have coincided with the vernal equinox."² Immediately after this, Th. gives a general advice thus: "We, moreover, must, apart from this particular case, disabuse our minds of the notion of the equinoxes—vernal or autumnal—having been of any importance for the Hindus previous to the time when the influence of the Greek astronomy began to make itself felt."³ The reason for this, as given by Th., is that the equinoxes naturally do not attract attention in the same way as the solstices do; for at

Thibaut wants that the notion that Indo-Aryans knew of equinoxes should be given up.

1 *Ibid.*, p. 89

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 90. Cf. Tilak, *The Orion*, p. 26: "The old order of seasons given in the passage above quoted (*Sata-Br.*, II. 1, 3, 1-3) however clearly states that Vasanta in old days commenced with vernal equinox. We can now understand why Vasanta has been spoken of as the first season. "The passage runs as follows: वसन्तो ग्रीष्मो वर्षाः । ते देवा ऋतवः शरद्धेमन्तः शिशिरस्ते पितरो य एवा पृथ्यतेऽर्धमासः स देवा योऽपक्षीयते स पितरोऽहरेव देवा रात्रिः पितरः पुनरहः पूर्वाह्णे देवा अपराह्णः पितरः ।

2 *Ibid.*, p. 90

3 *Ibid.*, p. 90

the equinoxes, the motion of the sun—be it northwards or southwards—undergoes no noticeable change, equal length of day and night being not easily detected. Th. states that the patent characteristics of solstices viz. their greatest deviations from normal state, when the sun stands highest or lowest, the days become longest or shortest, the shadows shortest or longest, and the sun turns north or south, attract attention easily. Another more important point, according to Th., is that in India, the vernal equinox at any rate does not in any way mark the revolution of the seasons. “It is in agreement with all this that the equinoxes or anything connected with them are nowhere in Vedic literature referred to, either directly or indirectly.”¹ Th. then warns that if no immediate and obvious connection with solstice is found in the reference to the beginning of the year in Vedic literature, “there is no valid reason for thinking alternately of equinoxes in regard to year-beginning; other likely points from which the year might have commenced must be looked out.”²

101. According to Th., the *Cāturmāsya*-sacrifice presupposes the subdivision of the year into three seasons. This may offer an explanation of year-beginning. He disagrees with J. when the latter opposes the view that “the beginning of the oldest Indian years coincided with the beginnings of those four-monthly periods rather than with the equinoxes.”³ Th. concedes that so far as the beginning of the year, made in the beginning of the rainy season, the most defined period, is concerned, the time-table of J. may be correct; but Th. is of opinion that J.’s remarks are wrong in actual allotment of the months to the three seasons. A division which, on the basis of three different seasons,⁴ distinguishes three four-monthly periods can never be quite accurate, because the rainy season occupies less than four months, strictly speaking a little more than three months.⁵ But as a four-monthly division is to be adhered to, Th. thinks a compromise becomes necessary, and in that case, the four months for the rainy season would be June to September, or better,—end of first

Thibaut thinks that *Cāturmāsya*-sacrifice offers an explanation of year-beginning.

According to Thibaut the 3 four-monthly divisions are:
1. June—Oct.
2. Oct.—Feb.
3. Feb.—June.

1 *Ibid.*, p. 90

2 *Ibid.*, p. 90

3 *Ibid.*, p. 90

4 Th. in a footnote states that the Indian year broadly divides itself into seasons consecutively—warm, rainy and cold; in course of time two more seasons were added—spring before warm and autumn before cold. The system of six seasons is an artificial one. —*IA.*, 1895, p. 90 fn.

5 *Ibid.*, 1895, pp. 90, 91

week, or first third, of June to end of first week, or first third, of October.¹—not from July to October nor from summer solstice to 20th October. So the two other seasons would be according to Th.: (1) from the earlier part of February (the increase of warmth being perceptible due to advent of summer) to the earlier part of June,—warm season; and (2) from the earlier part of October to the earlier part of February (a refreshing coolness being felt in early October²),—cold season.

102. Th. then examines what the *Brāhmaṇas* state in connection with the *Cāturmāsya*. He points out that the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* refers to sacrifices called *Cāturmāsya* which mark the beginning of the seasons (*Ṛtumukhāni*), and that they are as follows:

The corresponding sacrifices for the three divisions of the year.

1. Vaiśvadeva—to be performed on the Phalgunī or the Citrā Paurṇamāsī (full moon);
2. Varuṇapraghāsās—to be performed on the Āṣāḍhī or the Śrāvaṇī full moon;
3. Sākamedhas—to be performed on the Kārttikī or Āgrahāyaṇī full moon.

Th. states that the texts always mention Vaiśvadeva first. From this he concludes that in the *Brāhmaṇa*-period the prevailing opinion was that “the year begins with the warm season.”³

In the description of *Cāturmāsya*, Vaiśvadeva is always mentioned first, so Thibaut thinks the year-beginning in *Brāhmaṇa*-period must have been in warm season.

103. Th. then states that the *Kaus.-Br.* informs of the position of Phalgunī full moon in relation to solstice. According to the *Kaus.-*

1 From 7th or 10th June to 7th or 10th October

2 *IA.*, 1895, p. 91. This may be arranged as follows:

Varṣā	June to October
Śīta	October to February
Griṣma	February to June

3 *IA.*, 1895, p. 91

By reference to the *Kauṣṭhiki-Brāhmaṇa*, Thibaut finds that Phalgunī full moon, taking place $1\frac{1}{2}$ months after winter solstice, is the warm season and the beginning of the 4-monthly divisions, and therefore the mouth of the year.

Br., "the winter solstice coincides with new moon preceding the Māghī full moon. Full moon in Phalgunī thus takes place one and a half month after the winter solstice, i.e., about the end of the first week in February, and this, as we have seen, is a period which may not unusually be looked upon as the beginning of the warm season. We now fully understand why the Phalgunī-full moon is called the mouth of the year; it marks the beginning of that four-monthly division of the year, which is generally considered the first one. And we further observe

the full agreement between the statements about the Phalgunī-full-moon, and what the texts say in so many places about spring being the first season, the mouth of the seasons. For spring constitutes the former half of the four-monthly warm season. The beginning of the spring of the *Brāhmaṇas* is thus in no way connected with the vernal equinox, but rather takes place one and half months before it."¹

104. The above are the preliminary remarks of Th. If the rules given by *Taitt.-Sam.* and *Tāṇḍya-Br.* about the beginning of the *gavām-ayana* are judged, by keeping the above conclusions in view, they become clear and coherent, states Th. He examines the different dates for beginning the year. He justifies the rejection of the beginning on the *ekāṣṭakā* day (the 8th day after full moon in Māgha) on the ground of its falling within the season which is the 'end' of the year (last month before the Phalgunī full-moon which marks the beginning of the year), and on the ground that the water is then unpleasantly cold for bathing (*Tāṇḍya-Br.*).² The mention of Phalgunī full moon as the proper day for beginning the sacrifice, because it is the mouth of the year, is in proper order, according to Th. He justifies the rejection of this day also on the ground that the Viṣuvat then falls within the cloudy season, Th. states that if the *dikṣā* takes place on the 7th February, the *Viṣuvat* falls at the end of August, which is within

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 91

² Th. does not admit J.'s contention that those sacrificing on the Phalgunī-fullmoon (i.e., 24 days after *ekāṣṭakā*) sacrifice when the water does not become sensibly warmer. On the other hand, he thinks that the difference would be a perceptible one; and that the question loses its importance as the Phalgunī-fullmoon is rejected immediately afterwards. —*IA.*, 1895, p. 92

the rainy season; and that those who sacrifice on the day of Caitrī-full moon are justified, because the *Viṣuvat* falls at the end of September, when rains are over.¹

105. According to Th., the reasons for mentioning Phālgunī and Caitrī-fullmoons, as alternate beginning of *gavām-ayana* on the one hand, and for the different periods for the Cāturmāsya sacrifices on the other, are the same. Thibaut adduces his reasons for mentioning Phālgunī and Caitrī full moons as alternative beginnings. He states that the *Brāhmaṇas* and some *Sūtras* prescribe Phālgunī, Āṣādhī and Kārttikī fullmoons (strict beginnings of 3 fundamental seasons); and that some other *Sūtras* give the times as Caitrī, Śrāvaṇī and Āgrahāyaṇī fullmoons (i.e. not the beginnings, but earlier parts of the seasons). Th. reminds us that as lunar months lag behind the seasons, the Phālgunī full moon occurring on the 7th February in one year, will fall 12 days earlier next year, and 24 days earlier in the third year, so that by that time it will be 24 days less remote from the winter solstice than at first. This will not go on for ever. For, taking the cue from the *Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga*, Th. thinks that the disturbed harmony between the lunar and solar year would be restored by intercalation of a month in the middle of the third year. The Vaiśvadeva sacrificer, mentioned above, (para 102), may like to begin in the spring and therefore on Caitrī Paurṇamāsī which is considered to be proper by Th. instead of Phālgunī.² Thibaut on intercalation.

106. To complete the discussion of the two passages from the *Taitt.-Sam* and the *Tāṇḍya.-Br.*, Th. takes up the words 'Ekāṣṭakā' and '4 days before full moon' found at the beginning and at the end of the passages. "The *ekāṣṭakā* the commentators declare to be the eighth day of the dark half of Māgha, i.e., the eighth day after full moon in Māghās, the months being counted as beginning with the light half," Th. states that according to J., those who wished to perform all Introductory Rites before the Phālgunī-fullmoon day advocated this meaning of the word *ekāṣṭakā*, viz., 8th day of the dark half of Māgha, in order that the real sacrifice might commence at the true beginning of the year. It is pointed out by Th. that J. himself

¹ *IA.*, 1895, p. 92

² According to some authorities, the Vaiśvadeva sacrifice might be offered on Vaiśākhi-fullmoon.—*IA.*, 1895, p. 92

allots 24 days for these Introductory Rites, but the time from 8th of the dark half of Māgha to Phālgunī-fullmoon comprises only 22 days (and not 24). According to Th., the reference to *ekāṣṭakā* as the 'wife of the year' in several places of the texts, and the mention of some special rites in connection with *ekāṣṭakā* emphasise the importance of the same. *Ekāṣṭakā* "was, in fact, specially connected with the beginning of the new, or end of the old, year. If the year is viewed as beginning with Phalgunī-fullmoon, the light half of Phālguna, although really preceding the new year, might yet be viewed to belong to the new year, just because it is the light waxing half of the month, and in that case the *ekāṣṭakā*, as marking the last quarter of the last waning half of the old year might not inappropriately be viewed as representing the end of the old year. It might, in fact, be viewed so also, if the months are reckoned from full moon to full moon, in which case the whole of Phālguna, i.e., the month preceding Phalgunī-fullmoon, would belong to the old year."¹ In this connection, Th. mentions another possibility. He states that if the months are counted from full moon to full moon then the dark half of Māgha is the half that follows the Pauṣī-fullmoon, and that the 8th day of the dark half of Māgha would in that case precede the solstice which occurs (as in the *Kauṣ.-Br.* and the *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa*) on the new moon day preceding Māghī-fullmoon. "The *ekāṣṭakā* would then be the last quarter [of the month] preceding the winter solstice, and as such represent the end of that form of the year, which is reckoned from winter solstice to winter solstice." From the aforesaid remarks it becomes clear that the line of thinking of Th. appears to be that the *Taitt.-Sam.* and the *Tāṇḍya-Br.* mean by saying that the *gavām-ayana* begins on the *ekāṣṭakā* that the sacrifice should commence on the *amāvasyā* of Taiṣa (Pauṣa) or Māgha—both the beginnings being connected with the winter solstice. Th. notes that his last explanation goes against the Sūtra-writers who are in favour of taking *ekāṣṭakā* as the 8th day after Māghī-fullmoon.²

Th. states that the above explanation makes the objection to sacrifices on *ekāṣṭakā* day intelligible ; *ekāṣṭakā* falls within the last season of the year,—this season may precede Phalgunī-full-

1 *IA.*, 1895, p. 93

2 *Ibid.*, p. 93

Th. points out that this explanation is contradicted by those Sūtra Texts which define *ekāṣṭakā* as the 8th of the dark half of Māgha after Māghī-fullmoon.

moon or winter solstice (अन्तनामानावृत्त); it is cold season, therefore *ārta* or distressed, injured; Vyasta or Vicchinna refers, according to the commentators, to turning of the year in winter solstice.¹

107. In regard to the meaning of 4 days before the full moon, Th. does not think it to be an item of much importance. "If we, with the *Mīmāṃsakas*, decide for the Māghī-full-moon, we have a beginning of the year in the same month as the *ekāṣṭakā* (or at any rate separated from the latter by twelve days only); if, on the other hand, we decide for Chaitrī-fullmoon, the term nearly coincides with the third term," Th.'s opinion is therefore in favour of Caitrī-fullmoon. He says that he has the highest regard for the *Mīmāṃsakas*, but in this case he is unable to accept their view. As this expression '4 days before the full moon', is immediately after the word 'Caitrī-fullmoon', he connects one with the other, and the *ekāṣṭakā* mentioned thereafter he takes to be the *ekāṣṭakā* following Caitrī-fullmoon.²

Th. thinks that he has shown that "The *Taittirīya* and *Tāṇḍya* passages about the beginning terms [periods] of *gavām-ayana* can be explained quite satisfactorily and coherently, if viewed as referring to the time when the winter solstice had the position assigned to it in the *Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa* and *Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga*."³

108. After a criticism of the view that *Rv.*, VII. 103 [Frog song] and *Sūtras* bearing on *Upākarāṇa* refer to year-beginning, Th. emphasises his previous remark that "in Vedic literature, the equinoxes are never mentioned, and hence in our chronological speculations we are not warranted in referring to them as probable starting points of the Vedic year."⁴ He then examines the statements of J. and T. that *Kṛttikās* head an old list of *Nakṣatras*. This fact implies a recognition of the vernal equinox once lying in *Kṛttikās*. Th. however has never been able to find anything like a valid reason for this sort of conclusion. It is however found to have been

1 *Ibid.*, p. 93

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 93, 94

3 *Ibid.*, p. 94

4 *Ibid.*, p. 96

universally used as the head of a series of Nakṣatras in the Vedic texts. Th. explains this by saying that it was the involuntary projection of the conception of the later Nakṣatra series with Aśvinī at its head, into the past. Th. states that when the system of Indian astronomy was cast into modern shape, the Indo-Aryans noticing appearance of Aśvinī as

the background of the vernal equinox, in imitation, repeated it in connection with Kṛttikā as, the background of the vernal equinox. The recognition of the importance attached to year-beginning with the vernal equinox, according to Th., was entirely due to Greek influence. Th. claims that he has already shown that, in the *Brāhmaṇa* period, equinoxes did not come into consideration at all in connection

with seasons,—the spring falling midway between the winter solstice and vernal equinox.¹

109. Th. then considers T.'s argument (in Ch. II of the *Orion*) that distinct traces of the oldest year-beginning with vernal equinox are to be found in the term Viṣuvat which means originally 'the day when the night and day are equal', so that the central Viṣuvat day of the year-sacrifices like Gavām-ayana, etc. "must have been one of the equinoxes, and hence the sacrifice must have begun at the other equinox: whence we may conclude that equinox was viewed as the beginning of the year."²

Th. finds no authority for taking the Viṣuvat in the sense taken by T. According to Th., the Viṣuvat means 'that which belongs to both sides equally', 'that which occupies the middle,' implying that the Viṣuvat day is the central day of the sacrifice, wherever that day may fall. Originally the Viṣuvat was meant to coincide with the summer solstice (June-July). When the beginning of the sacrifice had been moved to the beginning of spring, the Viṣuvat (central day) coincided with the beginning of October, which became equinoctial day later on.³

110. Th. discusses the meaning of Uttarāyaṇa and Dakṣiṇāyana. He rejects T.'s contention that they indicate the periods intervening between the equinoxes, and advises to accept them in the sense of the periods intervening between the solstices. He repeats that the spring of the *Brāhmaṇas* begins not with

1 *IA.*, 1895, p. 96

2 *Ibid.*, p. 96

3 *Ibid.*, p. 96

the vernal equinox, but at the point lying midway between winter solstice and equinox, and that ayanas are reckoned from the solstice. He rejects the explanation that "Uttarāyaṇa denotes the time when the sun is moving in the northern region and not towards the north."¹

111. On the strength of what has been said in paragraph 110, Th. draws the following conclusion: "As thus there is no trace of a year reckoned from the equinox in the *Brāhmaṇa*-period, there hardly seems a good reason for commencing the position of Kṛttikās at the head of the old lists of the *Nakshatras* with the vernal equinox."² Th. is unwilling to accept the interpretation of the position of the Kṛttikās, as indicated in the *Brāhmaṇas*, reflected afterwards in the *Jyotiṣa-Vedāṅga*, to the effect that the vernal equinox falls at 10° of Bharaṇī, a constellation between Aśvinī and Kṛttikās, and the latter constellation might be seen marking the equinox.³

112. In spite of the above argument, Th. does not rule out the possibility of Kṛttikās marking the position of the vernal equinox.

He states that "It is, of course, not impossible that the old lists of the *Nakshatras* may really come down from the time when Kṛttikās marked the place of the vernal equinox, not only approximately, but accurately, i.e., about 2300 B.C. Only we must clearly realize that, in that case, astronomical views must be supposed to have prevailed

at that time,⁴ which greatly differed from those of the *Brāhmaṇa*-period; i.e., that people then must have looked on the vernal equinox as really marking the beginning of the year. That this was so is not impossible; but it has to be kept in view that it is an hypothesis not directly countenanced by anything in Vedic literature."⁵ Th. repeats that Aśvinī, the leading asterism of later times, owed its position to its connection with equinox, but that cannot indicate that the ancient position of the Kṛttikās was due to an analogous cause.⁶

Thibaut does not altogether deny the hypothesis that Kṛttikās at the head of the old list of *Nakshatras* marked the place of vernal equinox.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 96

² *Ibid.*, p. 97

³ *Ibid.*, p. 97. This implies that Vedic literature is later than 2300 B.C. according to Th.

⁴ *I.e.* 2300 B.C.

⁵ *IA.*, 1895, p. 97

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 97

113. Th. records his conclusions thus: "We arrive at the final conclusion that none of the astronomical data which so far have been traced in Vedic literature in any way compel, or even warrant us, to go back higher than the time when, the *Jyotisha Vedāṅga* explicitly states, the winter solstice took place in Śraviṣṭhās."¹ As to the exact period when this happened, Th. agrees with W. that "if all sources of possible error are taken into joint consideration, 'a thousand years would not be too long a period to cover all the uncertainties involved.'"² [Whitney, the *Lunar Zodiac*, p. 384]³.

114. Th. agrees with T.'s observation (Ch. III of the *Orion*), that in the earliest days, the motions of the sun and the moon were determined with reference to known fixed stars. He points out at the same time, however, that "in Indian literature there appears to be from the very beginning a most confusing mixing up of constellations and divisions of ecliptic. Artificial systems, like that represented by the *Jyotisha Vedāṅga*, appear to have been established very early: I have no doubt that at the time, when the author of the 19th Book of the *Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa* could say that the sun always turns towards the north on the new moon of Māgha, there already existed a fully worked out calendaric scheme, most probably very similar to that of the *Vedāṅga*. It appears probable that such a scheme was known at the time already when the months first received their names from the *Nakshatras* in which the moon was full."⁴

115. Immediately afterwards, Th. expresses his adverse opinion about the power of observation of the early Indo-Aryans. Says he that a distinction should be made "between minuteness and accuracy of astronomical observation on the one hand, and of arithmetical calculation on the other hand. The former cannot be presupposed for an early period—they, in fact, never existed in India; but there stands nothing in the way of our admitting that the Hindus at a very early period already were capable of devising a purely theoretical subdivision of the sun's

Thibaut criticises strongly the power of observation of early Indo-Aryan astronomers.

1 *Ibid.*, p. 97

3 *Ibid.*, p. 98 fn.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 97, 98

4 *Ibid.*, p. 98

and moon's path into twenty-seven equal parts, and accurately calculating the places occupied in those parts by the two heavenly bodies in all seasons and months of the year. There is no valid reason, in fact, to deny that what is actually done in the *Jyotisha Vedāṅga* and the *Sūrya Prajñapti* of the Jainas could be done at a much earlier period already. Each artificial scheme of that type, of course, requires, at least, one observation which provides a starting point for all calculations." Th. however is not sure what that original observation was ; it may have been winter solstice as in the *Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga* or it may be summer solstice.¹

116. Th. tries to measure the value of observations by ancient Indo-Aryans. As to the accuracy of their observations, Th. is of opinion that this "was at no period a strong point of Hindu astronomers." Says Th., "We need only remember that even after the Hindus had reached a comparatively high stage of theoretical astronomical knowledge and probably cultivated systematic observation to some degree, they yet appreciated its importance so imperfectly as to leave no direct record of what they did ; astronomers tacitly corrected the astronomical elements they had received from their predecessors, but did not state what the observations were that appeared to call for those corrections."²

Th. further states: "It is very difficult to admit anything like even approximate correctness of observation," anterior to the period of the *Siddhāntas*. The only class of observations he allows the ancient Indo- Aryans is those of solstices. A correct result cannot be expected without repeated observations for a number of years, and a correct evaluation of a year of 365 days cannot be made by following this method³.

Accusing the ancient Indo-Aryans of being devoid of any approximately correct notion of the length of the year, Th. goes on to state that "what length was attributed to the year in the Vedic period we do not directly know ; for the ever-recurring statement as to the year having 360 days can hardly represent the entire knowledge of the Hindus of that time, and, moreover, there are positive indications of some system of intercalation (the 13th month, etc.), which no doubt improved matters to some extent. But in the next following period—represented by the *Jyotisha Vedāṅga*, Garga,

Thibaut states that ancient Indo-Aryans did not leave behind any systematic record as proof of their observations.

Thibaut is of opinion that early Indo-Aryans had no notion of the proper length of the year, though they had some knowledge of intercalation.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 98

² *Ibid.*, p. 99

³ *Ibid.*, p. 99

etc.—we have most definite and circumstantial information as to the recognition of a solar year of 366 days, i.e., of a year three quarters of a day in fault. No clause, providing for a periodical correction of this fault, has been traced either in the *Jyotisha Vedāṅga* or any cognate work; the need of such a correction was evidently not perceived, or certainly not regarded, for centuries. Now, it would hardly recommend itself to ascribe to the Hindus of the Vedic period, a more accurate knowledge of the length of the year than to their successors, and we therefore must assume, however unwillingly, that they also, at the best, valued solar year at 366 days.”¹

117. Th. is not satisfied with simply stating that the ancient Indo-Aryans had no knowledge of equinoxes. He goes further and says that even in regard to solstices, their knowledge was not dependable. For, asks he, with what accuracy can solstices be observed by men who made the initial mistake in regard to the length of the year. He fails to understand, how any civilised nation, eager to maintain an orderly calendar, could tolerate a scheme based on the hypothesis of quinquennial yuga. In his opinion, violent corrections were made from time to time, but there was nothing like “a methodical correction of chronometrical and astronomical theories, such as results from continued methodical observation,” in the pre-Hellenic period.² Th. thinks that when

Thibaut states that not only in regard to equinox, but also in regard to solstice, the ancient Indo-Aryan observations cannot be depended upon.

the famous astronomer Varāha Mihira (600 A. D.) made a survey of different Hindu systems of astronomy, he had before himself works of two different descriptions only—those that were based on Greek science, and those that were not superior to *Jyotiṣa-Vedāṅga*. “And when we note that he manifestly was acquainted only with two positions of the summer solstice,—viz., the one belonging to his own period and the old traditional one recorded in the *Vedāṅga*, and that hence evidently there existed no record of an analogous observation from the whole period intervening between those two observations (a period of, let us say, 1700 years),³ we shall feel neither inclined to form a high opinion of the skill of the people who made the earlier observation, nor to believe that

1 *Ibid.*, p. 99

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 99, 100

3 [i.e., 600 A.D. and 1100 B.C.]

that observation was preceded by a series of older analogous observations and that records of these are embodied in ancient Hindu literature.¹

E. BÜHLER'S ARGUMENTS

IN SUPPORT OF JACOBI AND TILAK

118. B. makes a careful examination of the arguments of both J. and T.², and then comes to the decision that "they have made good their main proposition, viz., that the Kṛittikā-series is not the oldest arrangement of the Nakshatras known to the Hindus, but that the latter once had an older one, which placed Mṛigaśīras at the vernal equinox. If this proposition has not been proved mathematically, it has at least been made probable:—so probable that it may be used as the foundation" of a chronology for earlier Vedic period.³

In Bühler's opinion both Jacobi and Tilak have been able to establish that the early Indo-Aryans had knowledge of Nakṣatra-series with Mṛgaśīras at its head.

1 *IA.*, 1895, pp. 99, 100. The arguments of W. and Th. will be dealt with in subsequent paras.

2 B. mentions the surprising chance by which he came in contact with these two scholars. It was through J. that B. first came to know that there were statements in Vedic works, calculated to upset the prevailing theories regarding the age of the Veda. Whilst B. was journeying from Vienna to England in 1892, he stopped at Bonn (July 23) to call on J., his former companion during Tour in the Rajputana desert in the winter of 1873-74. J. assisted B. efficiently in his exploration of the libraries of Jesalmir and Bikanir. During the talks at Bonn, J. explained his own interpretation of VII. 103.9 of the *Rv.*, and drew attention of B. to the significance of the statements of the *Brāhmaṇas* regarding the beginning and end of the year as well as regarding the beginning of the three seasons of four months each. The indications that the so-called Kṛittika-series were not the oldest arrangement of the Nakṣatras known to the Hindus were discussed at some length. B. congratulated J. for his discoveries.

Six weeks later, the Committee of the Ninth International Oriental Conference at London sent B. the *Orion* (Ms) of T. with a request to give his opinion for its being printed in the *Transactions*. He was surprised to find that T.'s views closely agreed with those of J., and that T. had quoted some of those passages that J. had discussed with him before. Though B. differed from T. in some details, he recommended its inclusion in its entirety, containing as it did, an important discovery. The *Transactions*, however, printed only an abstract of the *Orion*, for want of funds. In November of that year, B. received from T. 2 copies of the abstract—at Vienna. One of them was sent to J. B. informed him of T.'s discovery and of the submission of his larger work at the International Oriental Conference, London.—*IA.*, 1894, p. 239

3 *IA.*, 1894, p. 239

119. Before dealing with the points of J. and T., B. gives a summary of the principal arguments put forward by them thus:

Bühler's summary of the arguments of Jacobi and Tilak. "While the arrangement of the Nakshatras according to the Kṛittikā-series places the winter solstice in the month of Māgha, the vernal equinox in Vaiśākha, the summer solstice in Śrāvaṇa and the autumnal equinox in Kārttika, there are a number of passages in Vedic works which contain contradictory statements. The well-known passages from the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, as well as from the *Kaushītaki* and *Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇas*, to which Prof. Tilak, *Orion*, p. 67, adds one from the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, and to which others might be added from the *Śrauta*¹ *Sūtras*, declares the full moon night of Phālguna to be 'the mouth of the year'. Moreover, another passage of the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* asserts that Uttara Phalgunī is the first night of the year and Pūrva Phalgunī is the last, which assertions are repeated in figurative language by the author of the *Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa*. From the first set of utterances both Prof. Jacobi and Prof. Tilak infer, as has been done by others before them, that in the Vedic times a year, beginning with the full moon of Phālguna, was used, and Prof. Jacobi alone points out that the second set of statements permits the inference that there was also a second year beginning exactly six months later in Praushthapada or Bhādrapada.

"The same scholar shows further that a third reckoning began with the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, which in the *Gṛihya Sūtras* and in Pāṇini's *Grammar* is called Āgrahāyaṇa or Āgrahāyaṇika, 'belonging to the beginning of the year'. Thus there are for the Vedic times three years, a Phālguna-year, six months later a Praushthapada-year, and again three months later a Mārgaśīrṣa-year..... This is just what might be expected in a large country like India, which was cut up into numerous political and other divisions. But it seems to me that in the Vedic works there are other indications, such as the contradictory statements regarding the number of the seasons, showing that the reckoning of time even in the most early period was by no means uniform and that various opinions regarding astronomical matters prevailed.

1 See, e.g. *Āpastamba Śrauta-Sūtra*, V. 3. 16:

यत् फाल्गुनो पूर्णमास आदध्यात् संवत्सरस्यैनमासन् दध्यात् बहे पुरैकाहे वा ॥

'If one kindles (the sacred fire) on the full moon day of Phālguna, one places it in the mouth of the year; (hence one should do it) two days or one day earlier.'" -*IA.*, 1895, p. 239 fn,

"The question, which now arises, is what the astronomical position of the Nakshatras was, according to which the three initial months of these Vedic years were named. Do these years belong to the period when the colure of the equinoxes passed through Kṛttikā and Viśākhā and that of the solstices through Maghā and Śravaṇā? Or do they belong to an earlier time, when the colure of the solstices went through Uttara Phalgunī and Pūrva Bhādrapadā and that of the equinoxes through Mṛgaśīras and Mūla? In other words, do they belong to the time, when the series of the Nakshatras, counting from that at the vernal equinox, began with Kṛttikā, or from the period when Mṛgaśīras occupied that position?

"Both scholars decide for the latter assumption".¹

120. According to B., what may be urged in favour of J. and T.'s views is that a rational explanation of early Indo-Aryans beginning their years with any of the three months Phālguna, Bhādra, Agrahāyana as J. states, or with one month, Phālguna, as T. thinks, is possible only if we admit that the time indicated was when Mṛgaśīras was at the head of the Nakṣatra-series. In other words, it was the time when the solstices and equinoxes stood as follows:

Bühler states that the selection of the months (3 according to Jacobi and 1 according to Tilak), for the beginning of a year indicates that Vedic texts are speaking of the time when Mṛgaśīras was at the head of the Nakṣatra-series.

winter solstice fell in Phālguna.

vernal equinox in Jyaiṣṭha,

summer solstice in Bhādra,

autumnal equinox in Agrahāyana

(Mārgaśīrṣa).

B. thinks that it is rational to hold that a year in those days could have commenced with any one of the four months mentioned above. Therefore, B. supports J.'s conception that different schools of priests or astronomers started the year with any of the three months, Phālguna, Bhādra, Agrahāyana (Jyaiṣṭha not mentioned as the first month), and named the year as Hīmā, Varṣā or Śarad (Vasanta not mentioned) in accordance with the season in which the first month fell.

Now, it may be argued, as has been done by some scholars, that it was not the time when Mṛgaśīras was at the head of the Nakṣatra-series but the time when Kṛttikā was at the head of the Nakṣatra-series, to which the Vedic texts refer. In the latter case,

as B. points out, the solstices and equinoxes would stand as follows:

winter solstice in Māgha,
 vernal equinox in Vaiśākha,
 summer solstice in Śrāvaṇa,
 autumnal equinox in Kārttika.

In other words, the year would have commenced with Māgha, Śrāvaṇa, or Kārttika. But, as pointed out before, the Vedic texts refer to year-beginning with Phālguna, etc. There is no reason why the second months of the seasons, Himā, Varṣā, or Śarad, should be chosen for beginning a year at the time when Kṛttikā was at the head of the Nakṣatra-series. B. is therefore convinced that when the reference in the Vedic texts is to the month of Phālguna, Bhādra or Agrahāyaṇa, it is nothing but the Mṛgaśīras epoch, i.e., when Mṛgaśīras was at the head of the Nakṣatra-series.¹

121. B. finds justification for the contention that, in ancient times, the month of Bhādra was once the month in which the summer solstice fell (i.e., the summer solstice took place when Mṛgaśīras was at the head of the Nakṣatra-series). Several rules connected with rites and sacrifices are cited by B. from J. and T.'s writings to prove J. and T.'s contentions. One of the rules is concerned with fixing the date of Upākaraṇa², for the *Gṛhya* and *Dharma Sūtras* give three different times for the commencement of Vedic study. The principal time for study in ancient India is held to be the rainy season. Most of the Vedic texts indicate that solemn opening of the annual session of the schools happened "on the appearance of the herbs", i.e., on the first days of the

The rules regarding Upākaraṇa indicate the continuance of the Mṛgaśīras epoch, according to Jacobi.

monsoon. The question naturally arises as to the reason why some Sūtrakāras have three different months—Āśāḍha, Śrāvaṇa, Bhādra—as suitable times for commencing the study of the Veda. This seeming contradiction can be explained on the supposition that the rainy seasons indicated belonged to three different Nakṣatra epochs. Accordingly, if we hold that summer solstice appeared in Āśāḍha in Āśvinī epoch, in Śrāvaṇa in Kṛttikā epoch, and in Bhādra in Mṛgaśīras epoch, the said contradictions disappear³.

1 *IA.*, 1894, pp. 240, 241

2 See paras 54 and 55 where J.'s views in regard to Upākaraṇa have been elaborately dealt with.

3 *IA.*, 1894, pp. 241, 242

122. B. states that "A second rule, which evidently places the month of Praushthapada-Bhādrapada at the summer solstice, and in the beginning of the rains, has been noticed by Prof. Jacobi alone".¹ He points out that the Jainas, the 'most ancient heterodox sect of India,' according to him, begin their Pajjusan² (Paryuṣaṇa) on the 4th or 5th day of Bhādrapada, and that the Pajjusan marks the old term of the retreat of the Jaina monks during the rainy season. All Indian ascetics, whether orthodox or heterodox, were and are still bound by their rules to put a stop to their wanderings during the Monsoon, and to devote the four rainy months, to study of their scriptures, to meditation, prayer and preaching, as the rules of their order may require.³

Bühler agrees with Jacobi that the Pajjusan ceremony of the Jaina monks indicating year-beginning fell in Bhādra and summer solstice.

"Pajjusan...is the true Varshāvāsa of the Jaina monks", and one of the beginnings mentioned by their scriptures dating from the time "when, in accordance with Mṛigaśīras-series of Nakshatras, Bhādrapada was the month of the summer solstice and of the rains".

123. The third significant rule mentioned by T. alone is pointed out by B. It enjoins the performance of the holiest Śrāddha in Bhādrapada, "the pitṛiyāna during which time the sun in older times went down the equator must have come to be regarded, for some purposes at least, as commencing from the summer solstice. With the winter solstice occurring on the Phālgunī full-moon day, we shall have the summer solstice on the Bhādrapadī full-moon, so that the dark half of [the month of] Bhādrapada was the first fortnight in the Pitṛiyāna, understood as commencing on the summer solstice. It was thus pre-eminently the fortnight of the *pitṛis* or the manes: and to this day, every Hindu celebrates the feast to the manes in this fortnight. As far as I know no reason has yet been advanced why the dark half of Bhādrapada should be called the fortnight of the *pitṛis* (*pitṛi-paksha*) and why special feasts to the manes should be ordained at this particular

Bühler agrees with Tilak that the performance of the holiest Śrāddha in the month of Bhādra is indicative of year-beginning in summer solstice.

the feast to the manes in this fortnight. As far as I know no reason has yet been advanced why the dark half of Bhādrapada should be called the fortnight of the *pitṛis* (*pitṛi-paksha*) and why special feasts to the manes should be ordained at this particular

1 *Ibid.*, p. 242

2 Spending the rainy season.—M. Williams; *IA.*, 1894, p. 242

3 *IA.*, pp. 242, 243

4 *Ibid.*, p. 243, and p. 243 fn.: पयुषणाकल्प निर्युक्ति, 2nd gāthā.
(quoted by B.).

period of the year. With the winter solstice in the asterism of Uttarā Bhādrapadā, that is, when it occurred on the Phālgunī full-moon, the matter is simply and satisfactorily explained. For then the Dakṣiṇāyana or summer solstice commenced on the dark half of Bhādrapadā and this fortnight therefore naturally became first fortnight in the *ayana* of the *manes*.¹

Pointing out that Parsis also celebrate their feast to the manes at the same time, T. thinks this coincidence to be important inasmuch as they refer to the periods of antiquity when the Indian and the Iranian Āryas must have lived together.²

T. further states that the above explanation implies that the feast to the manes became permanently fixed at this time, with the result that when the vernal equinox receded to the Kṛttikās, the feasts still continued to be celebrated in the dark half of Bhādrapadā.³

In the concluding chapter of the *Orion*, T. reverts to this subject, which is also noticed by B.⁴ According to T., "an almost continuous record of the year-beginnings from the oldest time down to the present" is to be found in the literature of India. T. states that he has already referred to the "occurrence of the *pitṛi-paksha* in Bhādrapadā as relic of the time when the year commenced with the Phālgunī full-moon. Our Shrāvaṇī ceremony appears to have been once performed in Bhādrapadā (*Manu*, IV. 95); and as it marked the beginning of the rains, when the herbs appear anew (Āshvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra, III. 5.2), we can here trace the recession of the rainy season from Bhādrapadā to Shrāvaṇa and from Shrāvaṇa to Āṣāḍha (Sāṅkhyāyana Br., I. 3) and finally from Āṣāḍha to Jyaiṣṭhā, as at present, then fully corroborating the recession of the beginning of the year or the winter solstice from Chaitra to Phālguna, from Phālguna to Māgha, and from Māgha to Pauṣha."⁵

124. B. is of opinion that of all the arguments adduced by J. and T., those that are mentioned above are the strongest "to shew that the Vedic Phālguna, Prauṣṭhapadā and Mārgaśīrṣa years began respectively with the winter and summer solstices

1 Tilak., *The Orion*, p. 91

3 *Ibid.*, p. 91 fn.

5 *The Orion*, pp. 216, 217

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 91, 92

4 *IA.*, 1894, p. 243

Bühler states that Jacobi and Tilak have proved that traces of the time when Prauṣṭhapada coincided with winter solstice and Mṛgaśīras with equinox are found in Vedic writings.

and the autumnal equinox." B. thinks that what has been said "is quite sufficient to make it at least probable that some Vedic writings have preserved reminiscences of a time when the Nakṣatra Prauṣṭhapadā or Bhādrapadā stood at the winter solstice, and the vernal equinox fell in Mṛgaśīras, and that this arrangement has left its traces in the rules regarding the seasons for certain ceremonies and sacrifices." As to the

time when this was correct, B. refers to J.'s table and finds the time to be 4420 B.C. "And if due allowance is made for possible and very probable errors of observation, the year 3800 B.C. may be fixed as the lowest term when a Mṛgaśīras-series could have been settled."¹

125. B. firmly holds that "the arrangement of the Nakshatras with the Kṛttikās at the vernal equinox is an Indian invention."²

In Bühler's opinion, Kṛttikā-series is an Indian invention, and some Indo-Aryan rites and sacrifices had been prevalent long before the time of the Kṛttikā-series.

He points out that the position of Kṛttikā at the vernal equinox was "astronomically correct about 2550 B.C."³ Therefore after the necessary allowance is made for errors owing to primitive method applied, one can safely assert that "ancient Hindus must have possessed an astronomical science," based on scientific principles and actual obser-

vations, and that "some of the Hindu rites and sacrifices existed even before the time when the Kṛttikā-series was invented, and were settled long before 2000 B.C."⁴

1 *IA.*, 1894, pp. 244, 245

2 *Ibid.*, p. 245

3 2350 B.C. according to T.

B.'s astronomical adviser Dr. R. Schram says in a letter to B. : "The precession amounts at present to 50" 23 annually or to 1° in 72 years. But it does not remain constant. Two thousand years ago it was about 46" and thus we get the 78 years for a degree, entered in Prof. Jacobi's Table. It is a matter of course that also this figure is correct for a certain period only. It is impossible to give generally correct figures for long periods because the time, required for the passage through a whole degree, is variable."—*IA.*, 1894, p. 245 fn.

4 *IA.*, 1894, p. 245

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Kashmir's Contribution to the Expansion of Buddhism in the Far East

The expansion of Buddhism from India to mediaeval China and from there to other parts of the Far East is a great and glorious chapter in the history of mankind, because this event involved millions of people and influenced their culture and lives. In this connection, Kashmirians once took a leading part in transmission of the Buddhist literature and traditions to the Far East. During the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era,

Abbreviations:—

- CBC = *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine*. 2 vols. by P. C. Bagchi, Paris & Calcutta, 1927 and 1938.
- CSTCC = *Ch'u-san-tsang chi-chi* (A collection of the records of Translation of Tripiṭaka). By Monk Sêng-yu (445-518), Taisho edition, No. 2145.
- HJAS = *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*.
- FTTC = *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* (A General Record on Buddha and Patriarchs). By Monk Chih-p'an (13th century A.D.) Taisho edition No. 2035.
- Hob. = *Hobogirin*, Fascicule Annexe, *Tables du Taisho Issaikyo*. Ed. by Maison Franco-japonaise, (Chief Editor—Paul Demiéville). Tokyo, 1931.
- KSC = *Kao-sêng-chuan* (Biographies of the Eminent Monks). By Monk Hui-chiao (497-554). Taisho edition No. 2059.
- Nj = *A Catalogue of Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*. By B. Nanjio. Oxford 1883; Rep. Tokyo, 1929.
- T = *Taisho Issaikyo* (Taisho edition of Tripiṭaka in Chinese). Ed. by J. Takakusu; K. Watanabe and others. Tokyo, 1924-29.
- TP = *T'oung Pao*.

Kashmir sent to China a number of Buddhist Masters, whose works and virtues were not only appreciated by their Chinese followers, but also by the Buddhists of the Far East.

These Kashmirians worked with determination, overcame many difficulties and dangers, crossed deserts and oceans, climbed across snowy mountains and walked hundreds of miles towards the East. They served as the torch-bearers of Indian culture, preached Buddhism, translated Buddhist canons into foreign languages, performed religious ceremonies and prayed for the good of those countries. For centuries, India had little knowledge about the achievements and activities of these noble Indian Masters. But as a result of modern scholarship and specially through the works of B. Nanjio, P. C. Bagchi and others, the story and works of these Indian Masters in China were gradually revealed to scholars throughout the world. Despite these past efforts, there are still some materials and other related problems in the field, which are worthy of further study. In this article, our attempt is concentrated on reaching two objectives: (i) To give an outline but factually complete survey of activities of Kashmirian Buddhist monks who worked in mediaeval China. (ii) To analyse and evaluate their contribution to Buddhism in the Far East. This is only for the convenience of discussion, because sending missionaries to foreign countries itself is a great contribution.

Before we start the survey, it is necessary to have a clear concept of the geographical term, Kashmir, as mentioned in Chinese texts. Scholars agree that the name of *Ki-pin* or *Chi-pin* mentioned in the pre-T'ang documents (i.e. before 618 A.D.) is broadly identified with the present Kashmir¹. From

¹ A good and concise résumé of views by E. Chavannes, S. Lévi and P. Pelliot on this identification has been given by P. C. Bagchi: "Ki-pin and Kashmir," *Sino-Indian Studies*, II, 1946-47, pp. 42-53. Also see L. Petech: "Chi-pin"—in *Northern India According to Shui-ching-chu*, Roma, 1950 and Hatnai Ryotei: "Buddhism in Western Region," (Chinese translation by Ho Ch'ang-ch'ün under the title *Hsi-yü chih fo-chiao*), pp. 313 ff.

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the time of Hsüan-tsang onwards, Chinese historians and scholars correctly knew the name to be *Kia-shih-mi-lo* or *Kashmira*². From this nomenclature, we can regard all the monks of *Ki-pin* or *Chipin* mentioned in early Chinese documents and those of *Kashmira* in later records as *Kashmirian monks*.

Survey

When we start the survey, the first question is, who was the earliest *Kashmirian monk* to work in China. According to P. C. Bagchi and others, *Saṅghabhūti* was "The first *Kashmirian scholar* to go to China³." This *Saṅghabhūti* arrived at the Northern capital (Ch'ang-an) in 381 A.D. But after our investigation, we find that there was another *Kashmirian* who worked at Lo-yang about seventy years before *Saṅghabhūti*. In the text of *Pi-ch'iu-ni chuan* (Biography of *Bhikṣunis*) by Pao-ch'ang in sixth century A.D. it is recorded: —

"Chih-shan was originally a resident of Chi-pin. He was kind and wise. He was a great Master in meditation and recitation. During the later part of Yung-chia era (307-312 A.D.) of the Chin dynasty, he came to China. He maintained his life by begging (*Pinḍapāta* in Skt.) and he always talked about the expansion of religion. At that time, the standard of attainment of people was still shallow, thus no one could appreciate him or learn from this Master. Therefore, he returned to his country during the first year of Chien-wu era (i.e. 317 A.D.). Later, when Fo-t'u-t'eng returned from West to China, he talked about the virtue and attainment of that Master, which made others regret..."⁴

2 Cf. Watters "On Yuan-chwang's Travel to India", p. 257 and for Chinese documents, see *Hsin-t'ang-shu* and other later records.

3 See "India and China," p. 35-36; Nj. p. 404 No. 54 but Mr. B. Nanjio had wrongly identified *Saṅghabhūti* as a monk from Kabul.

4 Original text of this quotation is contained in T 50, p. 934c. Translation is mine.

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Literally, Chih-shan means 'Mountain of Wisdom', which can be restored as Prajñā-kūṭa. From the above quotation, we may rightly say that so far as our knowledge is concerned, Chih-shan was the earliest Kashmirian who went to China. Unfortunately, his mission was unsuccessful due to uncongenial circumstances and could not achieve any substantial result. On the other hand, his determination and sincerity was undeniable.

Decades after the mission of Chih-shan, Buddhist studies and understanding in China showed much progress. Therefore, the later Kashmirians could work showing results where Chih-shan failed. Amongst these later Kashmirian Masters, we find the name of Saṅghabhūti, Gautama Saṅghadeva, Dharmapriya, Saṅgharakṣa, Dharmayaśas, Puṇyatārā (—404 A.D.), Vimalākṣa (—413 A.D.), Buddhayaśas, Buddhajīva, Dharma-mitra (356-442 A.D.), Guṇavarman (367-431 A.D.), Shih-hsien (460 A.D. his Chinese name might be a translation of Skt. Guru-bhadra or Upadhyāya-bhadra) and so forth.

Saṅghabhūti specialized in *Abhidharmavibhāṣā*. He arrived in China during 381 and worked till 384. There are three works said to have been translated by him.⁵ Gautama Saṅghadeva arrived at Ch'ang-an in 384. He worked there for a few years for translation and revision of Buddhist canons. Six years later, he joined the famous centre of Buddhist studies Lu-shan, translated two works at the request of Master Hui-yüan (334-416). He then went to Nanking where he translated important scriptures along with his Chinese colleagues⁶.

Besides these two eminent translators, there were two other monks from Kashmir. They were Dharmapriya and Dharmarakṣa. Identification of native place of these two monks were recorded in the books by Seng-yu and Hui-chiao respectively. They were undoubtedly Kashmirians. Dharmarakṣa was the

5 Details about the life and works of Saṅghabhūti, see *CBC.*, vol. 1, p. 160.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 161.

collaborator of Saṅghadeva in his translation of *Maḍhyamā-gama* (*Chung-a-ban-ching*)⁷.

When Kumārajīva (344-413) was working at Ch'ang-an, there were quite a number of scholars who worked with that celebrated Master of Tripiṭaka. Of his associates, Puṇyatārā, Dharmayaśas, Buddhayaśas, and Vimalākṣa were the outstanding figures. Puṇyatārā collaborated with Kumārajīva in translation of Vinaya texts⁸; Dharmayaśas also worked in co-operation with other Indian and Chinese monks. He worked both in Northern and Southern China for a number of years and translated three works into Chinese⁹. Vimalākṣa was an expert in Vinaya. He was also a teacher of Kumārajīva. When his disciple secured a distinguished position in Ch'ang-an, he went and joined the latter in 406. He revised Kumārajīva's translation of *Sarvāstivāda vinaya* (*Shih-sung-lü*) and also wrote a commentary on it¹⁰. Buddhayaśas was an old friend of Kumārajīva. He joined and worked with his friend at Ch'ang-an for some years. He was one of the few who could return to their homeland after completing their mission in the East.¹¹

During the first half of the fifth century A.D. there were many eminent Kashmirian monks who worked in China. In the Southern kingdoms, Buddhajīva, a Master of Discipline, translated three works at Yang-chou¹². Another Kashmirian monk called Dharma-mitra, reached Nanking via a special route, i.e. Kashmir-Central Asia-Tun Huang-Szu Ch'uan and from the last place he sailed along the Yang-tse River to Nanking in 420. Dharmamitra was a master of many subjects, his translations covered both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna works.¹³ Guṇavarman went to China via Ceylon and Java. He arrived at Nanking in 431, translated ten works mainly on Vinaya into Chinese.¹⁴

7 Original evidence on this identification is in Chinese, which is contained in T 55, p. 73c and T 50, 329b.

8 Cf. *CBC.*, I, 176 ff.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 174 ff.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 338.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 200.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 363.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 338.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 370.

In North China, there was a five-men Kashmirian mission led by Shih-hsien. They arrived at the capital of the N. Wei kingdom sometime between 446 and 450 when Buddhism was suppressed by the Toba Wei rulers. In the circumstances, these Kashmirians appeared as laymen and lived there as medical practitioners. In 452, when Buddhism was re-established in that kingdom, Shih-hsien re-entered clergy and was appointed "The Superintendent of Monks" (*Tao-jên-t'ung*). He was the only foreign monk who held such a high Government post in the history of Chinese Buddhist religion.¹⁵

After an interruption of about two hundred years, Kashmirian Masters again appeared in Chinese records. Buddhapāla went to China in 676. He translated one Tantric text along with his Chinese co-translator. He probably remained in China till his death, because a later record informs us that this Kashmirian monk was enshrined and worshipped in a district of Ho-nan province.¹⁶ Ratnacintā went and translated three works at Ch'ang-an in 693-706. Another Kashmirian monk Arjuna who was mentioned in Chinese records as a prince of Kashmir worked as a colleague of Yi-tsing (635-713).¹⁷

During the eighth and ninth centuries, we find another break in Kashmir Buddhist mission to the East, till the year 980, when a Kashmir Master T'ien-hsi-tsai (1000) went to K'ai-feng, the capital of the Sung empire. Following this, another Kashmirian monk Dharma-pāla (963-1058) went to China from Nālandā and worked there in 1003-1058. This T'ien-hsi-tsai translated one hundred and odd canons into Chinese, he was much honoured by the ruler of the Sung dynasty. He was renamed by Chinese king but his new name Dharma-bhadra was wrongly identified with another Indian called Dharm-deva. Similarly, the name of Dharma-pāla was also wrongly restored

15 See "Wei Shou on Buddhism," tr. by J. R. Ware, *TP.*, vol. XXX, p. 145.

16 About his life and works, see *CBC.*, vol. II, p. 513. For the story mentioned in later record, see *FTTC.*, 46. T 49, p. 417c.

17 For Ratnakinta, see *Hob.*, p. 139a; for Arjuna, see *CBC.*, II, 528.

as Dharmarakṣa and he was mentioned as a monk of Northern or Western India. It is very likely that they were natives of Kashmir, which is also proved by contemporary documents about them.¹⁸ Another Kashmir monk called Mu-lo-shih-chi went and presented Sanskrit manuscripts and the leaf of Bodhi-tree to China in 1005.¹⁹

We should not forget that besides these Kashmirian Masters, there were also other Indian and Central Asian monks who although natives of other places, did spend some years in Kashmir where they studied Buddhism. For example, Fo-t'u-teng "Had gone twice to Chi-pin (Kashmir) and had there received instructions from famous Masters." Others who learnt Buddhism from Kashmir and worked in China were Dharmakṣema (385-443 A. D.), Buddha-bhadra (359-429), Prajñā and others. Similarly, there were also a good number of Chinese monks who visited and learnt Buddhism in Kashmir.²⁰

Contribution

The direct contribution of Kashmirian Masters to Buddhism in China and Far Eastern countries embraces both works in translations and religious practices.

18 Early evidences on the identifications of these two Kashmirian Masters are contained in "An Inscription of The Bureau of the Transmission of Dharma", Fragments of Hsiang-fu and Ching-yu catalogues. All of them are in Chinese. Detailed discussion about these problems will appear in another article by the author entitled "Ch'üan-fa-yüan Pei and its New Light on Buddhist Translators of the Northern Sung Empire".

19 See *FTTC*, 44, T 49, p. 402c.

20 For Fo-t'u-teng, see Arthur F. Wright: "Fo-t'u-teng," *HJAS.*, vol. XI, p. 337. About the others, see *CBC.*, vol. I or P. C. Bagchi's "India and China" which have a good account of Indian Masters in China. About the Chinese pilgrims to India, there are two recent résumés on the subject by Paul Lévy: "Les Pèlerins chinois en Inde"; and K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: "The Chinese pilgrims" both published in *France Asie, Présence du Bouddhisme*, (Nos. 153-157, 1959), pp. 375ff. and 437 ff.

Their contribution as regards translations of Buddhist canons into Chinese is very important. The sections on *Āgamas*, *Madhyamāgama* and *Ekottarāgama* were translated by Gautama Saṅghadeva²¹ and *Dirghāgama* by another Kashmirian Buddhayaśas.²² This means that out of four comprehensive collections of *Āgamas*, three were done by Kashmirian Masters. Besides this, there are also other references about *Āgama* studies which flourished in Kashmir. For instance, in the biography of Kumārajīva, it is recorded that he went to Kashmir in 352, studied *Madhyamāgama*, *Dirghāgama* and other miscellaneous canons which belonged to the Hīnayāna school under the famous Kashmirian Master Bandhudatta.²³

Translations of *Abhidharma* is another important Kashmirian contribution to *Tripiṭaka in Chinese*. It was Saṅghabhūti who translated *Vibhāṣā-śāstra*;²⁴ Saṅghadeva translated *Abhidharma-jñānaprasthāna-śāstra* and *Abhidharmabṛdayaśāstra*; Dharmayaśas translated *Sāriputrābhidharma* along with another Indian monk Dharma-gupta.²⁵ Similarly, in *The Life of Hsüan-tsang*, it is clearly mentioned that after the Chinese Pilgrim arrived at Srinagar, he stayed at Jayendra monastery, studied *Abhidharma-kośa* and *Abhidharma-nyāyānusāra-śāstra* and other canons under the celebrated teacher Saṅghakīrti. It is well-known that Hsüan-tsang contributed a large number of works in the translations of *Abhidharma* section after he returned to China from India. In the biography of Gautama Prajñā, it is also stated that this Master once went to Kashmir and studied nearly 40,000 *gāthās* of *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*, 28,000 *gāthās* of *Abhidharma-kośa*, and also mastered *Mahāvibhāṣā*.²⁷ From these facts, we can

21 *Hob.*, Nos. 2F, 125 and Nj. Nos. 542 and 543.

22 *Hob.*, No. 1 and Nj. No. 545.

23 *KSC.*, II, T 50, p. 330b.

24 *Hob.*, No. 1547 and Nj. No. 1279.

25 *Hob.*, Nos. 1543 and 1550; Nj. Nos. 1273 and 1288.

26 *Hob.*, No. 1548 and Nj. No. 1268.

27 Cf. "The Life of Hsüan-tsang". Tr. by Li Yuong-hsi, Peking, 1959, p. 70. *CBC.*, vol. II, p. 582 and my article "On Chinese Transla-

realise how important was Kashmirian Masters' contribution directly and indirectly to the *Abhidharma* section of *Tripiṭaka* in Chinese.

Besides their contribution on *Āgama* and *Abhidharma*, the Kashmirian Masters also did important and extensive works in the section of the Vinaya texts. In Chinese translation of Buddhist canons, there are five different Vinaya-piṭakas, viz, (i) *Mahāsāṅghika Vinaya*, (ii) *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya*, (iii) *Dharmagūptaka-vinaya*, (iv) *Mahīśāsaka-vinaya* and (v) *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*. In this connection, Buddhajīva translated two works one in thirty and another in one fascicle which belonged to Mahīśāsaka school.²⁸ In the collection of *Dharmagūptaka-vinaya* Buddhayaśas translated four works, of which one consisted of sixty fascicles.²⁹ In the section of *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya*, Puṇyatārā and Kumārajīva's translation was in fifty-eight fascicles. This work was enlarged to sixtyone fascicles by another Kashmirian Vimalākṣa whom we have referred to in previous paragraphs.³⁰ Guṇavarman also did works in Vinaya section.³¹ Yi-ting, another celebrated Chinese Pilgrim to India, did not visit Kashmir. He however translated *Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya* which definitely developed in Kashmir and other centres in India. On this point, the discovery of Gilgit Manuscripts on Vinaya and its correspondance with Yi-ting's translation is very significant.³² P. C. Bagchi said: "As a whole the

tion of Avatamsaka-sūtra," *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, vol. VII, p. 125 ff, 1959.

28 *Hob.*, Nos. 1421, 1422 and Nj. Nos. 1122, 1157.

29 *Ibid.*, Nos. 1428-1431 and Nos. 1117, 1154, 1155, 1156.

30 *Hob.*, Nos. 1435 and 1115. About Vimalākṣa, see CBC., I. 338.

31 *Hob.*, Nos. 1434, 1466, 1472, 1476 and 1487.

32 *Hob.*, Nos. 1442-1457. About the relation between Yi-ting's translation and Gilgit MSS, see Prof. Chi Hsien-lin's comparative study: "*Chi kêng-pên-shuo-yi-ch'ieh-yu-pu-lü fan-wên-yüan-pên tê fa-hsien*" (The Discovery of Sanskrit Original text of Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayavastu), in *Chung-yin wên-hua kuan-hsi-shih-lun-ts'ung* (Essays on Sino-Indian Cultural and Historical Relations), Peking, 1957, pp. 95 ff.

Vinaya-piṭaka in Chinese is the richest collection of the Vinaya literature that ever existed....."³³

As regards religious practices, Kashmirian contribution to Buddhism in mediaeval China are mainly in two directions: one is on the exposition of the Vinaya texts and another on the teaching of Ch'an (Dhyāna or meditation).

Besides Kashmirian's translation of Vinaya texts, they also did good works in explaining the texts and implementing monastic disciplines. In the biography of Vimalākṣa, it is stated that he had great achievements in preaching Vinaya rules at Shou-ch'ün and Yang-chou, both in eastern China.³⁴ Guṇavarman was described as "A profound scholar in Vinaya" and he also gave practical advice to Chinese Saṅghas. Others like Buddhayaśas and Buddhajīva possessed high virtues in observance of monastic discipline, thus they set examples to their followers to imitate. Their conduct was respected and appreciated by Chinese Saṅghas. In fact, Hui-chiao a most eminent Buddhist historian of the sixth century wrote: "Chi-pin turned out more sages."³⁵ In this regard, we should not forget another Kashmirian Shih-hsien, since he held the post of "Superintendent of Monks," which was usually occupied by the Masters of Discipline. Unless he possessed high virtue and good knowledge of Vinaya, it was impossible for him to hold that high post.

Kashmir was also a famous place where Buddhist meditation once flourished. In the biography of Kashmirian Masters, it was frequently mentioned that these Masters had a complete mastery of Dhyāna. For instance, Chih-shan was mentioned as "A great Master in meditation"; Dharmayaśas, Dharma-mitra and Guṇavarman were all well-known for their power of Meditation. In a preface to a translation relating to meditation, a Chinese monk Hui-kuan (433 A. D.) mentioned a

33 *India and China*, p. 131.

34 Cf. note No. 10.

35 The original version of this passage is "*Chi-pin to ch'u shêng-jên*" which is existing in T 50, p. 342, line 10.

genealogy of Dhyāna Masters of Kashmir. According to that Chinese source, Dhyāna Buddhism had a long tradition in Kashmir. Puṇyāmitra was respected as the first Patriarch of the Dhyāna Buddhist school in Kashmir. He was succeeded by his disciple Puṇyatārā and later, two of Puṇyatārā's disciples namely Dharmatrāta and Buddhasena were jointly respected as the third Patriarchs. Dharmatrāta's method of Dhyāna was introduced in China by Buddhahadra and it occupied an important place amongst the canons of Meditation. There is also the reference concerning Dhyāna tradition of Buddhasena in Chinese translations. Buddhahadra though a native of Central India, resided in Kashmir for some time before he proceeded further East. His translation of *Cb'an-ching* which was originally written by Dharmatrāta proves his appreciation of Dhyāna Buddhism of Kashmir.³⁶ Similarly, some of the Chinese pilgrims visited Kashmir in order to learn the methods of Dhyāna. Chih-yên and Hui-lan are good examples.

According to a postscript appended to the end of *Hsiu-ying-tao-ti-ching* (Chinese translation of *Yogācārabhūmi*), the original text of that canon was brought to Tun-huang, the celebrated ancient Buddhist centre in N. W. China frontier by a Chi-pin scholar (*Wên-shih*) named Chu Hou-chêng (or Chêng-jo). The text was then translated by Dharmarakṣa (Chu Fa-hu) with collaboration of that Kashmirian, which was completed on the 26th March, 284 A.D. (See T. XV, 230 c, foot note 19).

From this reference, we may further push back the date of the earliest Kashmirian who went and worked in China to the later part of the third century A.D. This reference has also further proved the prevalence of *Dhyāna* Buddhism in Kashmir. (Cf. Demiéville, Paul: "Le *Yogācārabhūmi* de Saṅgharakṣa", *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, XLIV, (1954). About the name of this Kashmirian, see p. 348 note 1.)

From the above discussions and evidences, we may conclude that the activities of Kashmirian Buddhist Masters in China

flourished during the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era. Their mission was once again revived in the seventh and early decades of the eighth century. After another interruption of two hundred and odd years, their activities once again came into the picture during the last quarter of the tenth and first half of the eleventh century.

Their contribution on translation of Buddhist canons was mainly in the fields of *Āgama*. They were also responsible for transmission of Buddhist metaphysical philosophy as found in *Abhidharma* collection to China and the Far East. Their contribution in translation of Vinaya-piṭaka was outstanding. Besides these, they also translated other works of different categories. Their translations of Tantric texts during the tenth and eleventh centuries are very significant. Their contribution on religious practices was mainly concentrated on monastic discipline and on Buddhist meditation. Their works and virtue were respected by the Buddhists in China and in the Far East. These were recorded in various biographies, catalogues as well as other documents.

JAN YÜN HUA

Place of Rājagṛha in the History of Early Jainism

Containing as it does, some of the oldest structural remains in India, Rājagṛha or modern Rajgir in the State of Bihar can claim to be one of the most interesting places in our country. It was originally the capital of Jarāsandha, a prehistoric King of Magadha, who is commemorated in the *Mahābhārata* as taking a prominent part in the great war. After the defeat and death of Jarāsandha at the hands of Bhīma, the great hero of the *Mahābhārata*, we hear nothing of this place (which was then known as 'Girivraja') for many centuries, until in historic times, the Śaiśunāga king Bimbisāra (c 519-491 B.C.) made it his capital. Bimbisāra was a contemporary of both Mahāvīra and the Buddha, the respective founders of Jainism and Buddhism in India. The latter's name is closely associated with Rājagṛha, and the influence of Buddhism continued to be very prominent in this place, even after the death of the Buddha.

We are, however, concerned here mainly with the history of the Jaina faith in Rājagṛha. In that regard, we have ample evidences which go to prove that Rājagṛha or modern Rajgir has been regarded from a very ancient time to be a sacred place for the Jainas. It marked the confluence of Buddhism and Jainism from a very remote age.

The Jainas claim a venerable antiquity for their religion. They believe that their religion is eternal and that it has been constantly revealed in the endless succeeding periods of the world by the Tīrthaṅkaras. "They tell us that before Mahāvīra, there were not less than 23 Tīrthaṅkaras, who appearing at certain intervals, preached the only true religion for the salvation of the world."¹

The names of two of the Tīrthaṅkaras are closely associated with Rājagṛha. Munisuvrata, the twentieth Tīrthaṅkara

¹ *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, ch. VI, p. 136.

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was born in Rājagṛha while it was the centre of religious activity of Mahāvīra, who is regarded as the twentyfourth or last of the Tīrthaṅkaras. The 'Kalpasūtra' of Bhadrabāhu, one of the oldest Jaina canonical texts, contains a biography of Mahāvīra. Its testimony proves a long association of Mahāvīra with this city, as he passed here the greatest number of 'Caturmāsya' (i.e. fourteen rainy seasons) after he became an ascetic.² Moreover, the Buddhist texts specifically mention Rājagṛha, Nālandā, Vaiśālī, Pāvā and Śrāvasthī as places where the activity of Mahāvīra and his immediate disciples were concentrated. Mahāvīra's principal disciple Gautama Indrabhūti was born in the village of Gobbar (Gobbra or Govaraya) near Rājagṛha³ and his principal lay-follower Upālī, who was converted to Buddhism afterwards, was also a householder of the same place.⁴ The Jaina canonical texts claim Bimbisāra and Ajātasatru, the then rulers of Magadha, to be the supporters of their Master. The Buddhists on the other hand claim these kings as followers of their own Teacher, "but there seems to be little doubt that the Jainas have more claim to include the patricide king (Ajātasatru, who was a relative of Mahāvīra) amongst their converts than the Buddhists."⁵ This explains to some extent the reason why Rājagṛha became an important centre of the Jaina religion, during the life-time of Mahāvīra.

Rājagṛha maintained its prominent place in the history of the Jaina Church even after the death of Mahāvīra. Besides Gautama Indrabhūti, two other famous Jaina Gaṇadharas viz. Jambusvāmī and Sajjambhava, were also natives of Rājagṛha.⁶ Moreover, Gautama Indrabhūti, Sudharma Svāmī and Jambusvāmī had also obtained Nirvāṇa in Rājagṛha. "It is said that for sixty two

² Kalpasūtra, 'Lives of the Ginas' SBE, vol. XXII, Lecture 5 § 122, translated by Jacobi.

³ Epitome of Jainism, Puran Chand Nahar and Krishna Ch. Ghosh, Ch. XXXVII, p. 658.

⁴ Cambridge History of India, vol. I, ch. VI, pp. 143-4.

⁵ Ibid., p. 141.

⁶ Nahar & Ghosh, op. cit., pp. 659-60.

years, these three Munis who had attained 'Kevala-Jñāna' had spread the creed of Jainism.⁷

Jainism was a living faith in Rājagṛha and its neighbourhood even in the 7th century A.D. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang, who visited India during this time, noticed many Nirgranthas near a tope on the Vipula mountain on the spot where the Buddha once preached. "Many Digambaras now lodge here and practice austerities; they turn round the sun, watching it from its rising to its setting,"⁸—this was the statement of the Chinese traveller regarding the Jainas of Rājagṛha of his time.

Rājagṛha, famous both in Buddhist and Jaina literature, is still a place of pilgrimage to the Jainas. A considerable number of Jaina relics lie scattered in or about this place. A full survey of these Jaina antiquities is necessary for the proper understanding of the history of this ancient faith in Rājagṛha. Rājagṛha is situated about fourteen miles south-west of the town of Bihar-Sharif, and is surrounded on all sides by five hills viz. Vaibhāra, Ratnagiri, Sonāgiri, Udayagiri and Vipula, all of which are now crowned with Jaina temples built of ancient materials. In the centre of this is a stūpa, crowned by a Jaina temple known as 'Maniyār Maṭh' built in 1780 A.D.⁹ Believing the Stūpa to be a representation of an old Buddhist Stūpa, General Cunningham in 1861-62 sank a shaft near the Maṭh. During the excavation three small figures were found, one of which was a naked standing figure with a seven-headed serpent hood over his head; most probably it was a figure of Pārśvanātha,¹⁰ the twenty-third Tīrthankara of the Jainas.

The 'Sonbhāṇḍār' or 'treasury of gold cave' is excavated in the southern scrap of the Vaibhāra hill. General Cunningham identified this cave with the famous Saptapnnī hall where the

7 *Jainism in Bihar*, P. C. Roychoudhury, Ch. XII, p. 95.

8 T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. II, p. 154.

9 *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal*—1895.

10 *List of Ancient Monuments protected under Act VII of 1904*—in *The Bihar Orissa Province*—M. Hamid Kuraishi, pp. 131-32.

first great Buddhist council was held, after the death of the Buddha, to fix the main principles of his teaching. But the identification of General Cunningham is open to criticism, as all the old authorities agree that Saptapaṇṇī hall was situated on the northern face of the hill. So Mr. Beglar identified this and the neighbouring caves with the caves of the Buddha and Ānanda. But there is a Sanskrit inscription in characters of the 3rd or 4th century A.D. to the right of the door, in the light of which both the theories may be dismissed, "for the record ascribes the excavation of the cave to one Muni Vairadeva, who enshrined in it the images of the Arhats or Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, as they would be now called. The Jaina epithet 'Muni' as against the Buddhist "Bhikṣu" is significant and indicates that the cave was from the very beginning, as indeed it is now, a Jaina sanctuary. Again the form 'Vaira' is peculiar to the Jaina 'prākṛit' and would be represented in Sanskrit as 'Vajra'. Close to the inscription is still faintly perceptible the outline of the lower half of a small naked male figure, doubtless one of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras".¹¹

Some scholars, including U. P. Shah, identify this Vairadeva with great Śvetāmbara Ācārya Vajra, who died in the 584th year of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa.¹²

A fourfold (Caumukha) Jaina sculpture from Sonbhāṇḍar Cave, Rajgir, and a figure of Ādināth with the name of a monk Vasantanandi inscribed (c 8th century A.D.) on the pedestal, from a ruined brick shrine at Vaibhāra hill are typical examples of Jaina sculptures of the Eastern School¹³. These art specimens belonged to the transitional period of Indian art of the mediaeval period which extended from 600 to 1000 A.D. This proves that Jainism continued to flourish even during this period in this region.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 121-22.

¹² Shah, U. P., *Muni Vairadeva of Son-Bhāṇḍāra Cave inscription*, —JBRs, December 1953, pp. 410-12.

¹³ Shah, U. P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 17.

On the Vaibhāra hill, Rajgir, there is a ruined temple consisting of a central chamber flanked on all sides by a row of cells and containing sculptures. Adjoining the east wall of the main building is another room having (in one of its niches) a seated figure of Nemināth with a fragmentary inscription in Gupta characters.¹⁴ This is the earliest specimen assignable to a fairly accurate date showing the introduction of recognising symbols of the Tīrthaṅkaras. In this case the conch symbols flank either side of the 'Dharmacakra' in the centre of the pedestal. Three standing figures of Tīrthaṅkaras in other niches seem to belong to circa fourth century A.D. as they retain to some extent the stiffness of shoulders of the Kuṣāṇa period.¹⁵ Two of these figures with an elephant or lion on the pedestal are canopied by seven-headed serpent hood and probably represent Pārśvanāth.¹⁶

In a cave in the Udaigiri hill at Rājagṛha, there is a very ancient image of Pārśvanāth. Regarding the artistic excellence of this image, Mr. Sarabhai N. Nawab has expressed a high opinion in his book *Jain Tirthas in India and their Architecture*.¹⁷ In glowing words he remarks:—

"Its placid facial expression, the expanded serpentine hoods behind it, its lotus seat and the wonderful and artistically arranged coils of the snake below the lotus seat create admiration in the minds of the visitors for the forceful inspiration of the master artists of those days. Very rare are such sculptures saved from the devastation of time."¹⁷

From the District Gazetteer of Patna District, 1924, the following description may be quoted as a detailed account of the modern Jaina temples at Rājagṛha or modern Rajgir. It says:—

"At present, Rajgir is a 'tīrtha' or a sacred place of the Jains, who come there in great numbers from different parts

14 First published by Chanda, Ramaprasad, ASIA., 1925-26, 125 ff.

15 Shah, U. P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 14.

16 M. Hamid Kuraishi, *List of Ancient Monuments protected under Act VII of 1904 in Bihar and Orissa Province* (1938).

17 Sarabhai N. Nawab, *Jain Tirthas in India and their Architecture*.

of India to visit the shrines on the tops of the five hills; on Baibhar Hill alone, there are five Jaina temples besides the ruins of an old Śaiva shrine. The temples are all of recent date and generally contain a stone with the foot-prints of some Jain Tirthaṅkara. Older shrines of the middle ages with numerous Jain images are also found but they are no longer used for worship"¹⁸

With all these facts in view, we may safely come to the conclusion that Rājagṛha or modern Rajgir had been able to maintain its renown as a stronghold of Jainism from the date of Mahāvīra, (if not earlier) down to the present age. Many of the Jaina relics found in Rajgir, have been preserved in the Museum at Nālandā, which is seven miles away from Rajgir.

SANTI MUKHOPADHYAY

The Democratic Attitude of the Buddha

Gotama, the Buddha, neither appealed to the people nor constrained them to adhere to his dhamma and discipline. On the contrary, he proclaimed; "You yourself must strive. The Blessed Ones are (only) preachers."¹ Once requested by Ānanda to lay down instructions concerning the Order, the Blessed one is reported to have said: "Surely Ānanda, should there be any one who harbours the thought 'It is I who will lead the brotherhood, or the Order is dependent upon me,' it is he who should lay down instructions concerning the Order. Now the Tathāgata, Ānanda, thinks not that the Order is dependent upon him. Why then should he leave instructions in any matter concerning the Order."² Furthermore he inspired Ānanda as follows: ".....Be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge to yourselves, Betake yourselves to no external refuge,"³ and his final injunction was "what Dhamma and Vinaya have been promulgated and proclaimed by me, let that be after my demise your teacher."⁴

What we propose to emphasise is that the assertions cited above are almost all democratic in spirit. The same spirit is manifest in the ecclesiastical regulations of the Buddhist Order (Saṅgha). Based on democratic footing, these rules are sufficient to prove that their promulgator was an ardent supporter of democratic ideals. Scholars are almost unanimous that the constitution of the Buddhist Fraternity was republican in nature.⁵ But despite the fact, some of the eminent scholars harbour doubt about the Buddha being a zealous democrat. They perceive in him a dictatorial attitude. Thus Prof. Oldenberg remarks that "The authority to frame a law for the community belongs to the

¹ *Dp.*, Gatha, 276.

² *DB.*, Part II, p. 107.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

⁵ *Buddha*, p. 338; *EMB.*, vol. I, p. 315; *EBJ.*, p. 148 and *HBC.*, p. 155.

Buddha alone.....".⁶ Similarly Dr. S. Dutt says "that the idea that there was no leader of the Saṅgha, no one on whom the Saṅgha was dependent, came to the fore after the death of the first master (Satthā)"⁷. Dr. N. Dutt is decidedly vehement in his assertion that the Buddha "himself, however, acted more as a dictator than as a constitutional head....."⁸ And finally Miss Bhagavat follows him by her remark that "The Buddha by his towering personality no doubt, outshone them all."⁹

Prof. Oldenberg is not unjust in passing such a remark. He is, of course, right so far as the promulgation of the rules is concerned.¹⁰ But regulation and imposition are poles apart. It is indubitable that Buddha laid down instructions for religious life, but he neither advised nor forced any one to have a blind faith in them. His attitude, on the contrary, was always rationalistic. 'Test by logic and reason and only then accept any thing, not out of mere regards for the Master' was one of his golden advices given to his followers from time to time. Once he is heard advising the Kālāmas: "So then, Kālāmas, as to my words to you just now: 'Be ye not misled by report or tradition or hearsay. Be not misled by proficiency in the collections, nor by mere logic or inference, nor after considering reasons, nor after reflection on and approval of some theory, nor because it fits becoming, nor out of respect for a recluse (who holds it). But, Kālāmas, when you know yourselves: These things are unprofitable, these things are blameworthy, these things are censured by the intelligent, these things, when performed and undertaken, conduce to loss and sorrow,.....then indeed do ye reject them."¹¹

The Buddha's rationalistic attitude is again evidenced by the reply given to the query put to the Teacher by the Bhikkhus. On one occasion, the master is reported to have enquired: "Would

6 *Buddha*, p. 333.

8 *EMB.*, vol. I, p. 315.

10 Even this much is not accepted unanimously. See *EBJ.*, p. 85.

11 *BGS.*, vol. I, p. 173.

7 *EBM.*, p. 125.

9 *EBJ.*, p. 86.

you, monks, knowing thus, seeing thus, speak thus; 'The Lord is oppressive to us, but we speak out of respect to our Teacher?' "No Lord" was the bold reply of the Bhikkhus. He again interrogated them; "Do not you, monks, speak only of that which of yourselves you have known, seen and discerned?" And they expressly admitted it by the phrase: "Yes, Lord".¹²

It is clear that the rules framed by the Buddha were put into practice only after a thorough examination of their suitability and unsuitability to the Saṅgha. Thus Prof. A. J. Bahm seems to be justified when he remarks: "But they should do so only because this appears to them best suited to their needs not because Gotama gave an authoritative command to do so."¹³

Let us come to Dr. S. Dutt. The evidence supplied in support of his assertion has merely a show of truth, for when examined in the light of a similar contradiction referred to in the *Milindapañha*, its implausibility becomes clear. He finds, inconsistency in Buddha's denial of himself as 'managing' the Saṅgha or of the Saṅgha as 'depending' on him, and Assaji's acknowledgment of himself as 'being initiated in the Blessed One's name'.¹⁴ As early as the first century B. C. an apparent contradiction was found by king Milinda in the statements: "Tathāgatassa kho Ānanda na evaṃ hoti 'ahaṃ bhikkhusaṅghaṃ pariharissāmi' vā 'mamuddesiko bhikkhusaṅgho' ti vā" and "so anekasahassaṃ bhikkhusaṅghaṃ pariharissati seyyathā pi ahaṃ etarahi anekasataṃ bhikkhusaṅghaṃ pariharāmi",¹⁵ made by the Buddha himself in this respect. He put it to Thera Nāgasena for its solution.

Thera Nāgasena replied that the king is partly right and partly wrong in his remark. The contradiction or inconsistency pointed out in the passages is only applicable so far as the conventional truth is concerned. To the Blessed ones, "This is I" or "This is mine," for example, is merely a custom of every day life (*sammutisacca*) rather than a transcendental truth

¹² *MLS.*, Part I, p. 321.

¹⁴ *EBM.*, p. 69.

¹³ *PB.*, p. 140.

¹⁵ *MP.*, p. 160.

(*paramatthasacca*); for Blessed ones are free from all attachments. They are not helped in any way by their adherents, but their adherents are helped in every way by them. To make it easily comprehensible, he explained it with the help of two similes—one that of the ‘earth’ (*paṭhavi*) and the other that of the ‘mighty rain-cloud’ (*mahatimabhāmegho*). It is well-known that the earth is a support and shelter for all and the rain provides nourishment to all, but they have no attachment for them. In the same way the Tathāgata is an asylum of righteous life of the beings but it never occurs to him that “These are mine.” Thus, “It is not the Tathāgata, O King” observed Thera Nāgasena. “who seeks after a following, but the followers who seek after him.”¹⁶ The intention behind Assaji’s statement is thus brought out. It is but befitting for a neophyte like Assaji to acknowledge gratitude to his Teacher and to look to him for necessary assistance as the occasion arose. As such the view that the Order was dependent on the Teacher during his lifetime is untenable.

Instead of applying force to solve any issue of the Order the Buddha always entreated his adherents to tackle it amicably. For instance, the case of dissension in the Church at Kosambi may be cited.¹⁷ The Kosambian monks were divided on certain issue of the Church and the Buddha could not settle it. Seeing the awkward situation, he left the place. To give an authoritative command to the mendicants to obey him would have been the course adopted by a dictator in his place. But he always looked down upon dictatorship because his followers were, in his view, his equals and companions; not his subordinates and inferiors. The sympathetic words uttered by the compassionate Teacher to the Bhikkhus just before his departure from Kosambi bears testimony to this. He advised them to associate with friends who were righteous, mindful, wise and happy and to abandon those who were of the opposite nature. This shows that the

¹⁶ *SBE.*, vol. XXXV, pp. 225-226.

¹⁷ See *Mv*, ‘Kosambakakkhandhaka’.

Buddha left the question of reconciliation to his followers themselves and thus provided scope for the free exercise of their own wisdom.

“Dictators who remain in office tend to be corrupted and misled by their own power. Their closest advisers become flatterers,”¹⁸ The Buddha was regarded as a great Teacher of his time. Many sought to wait on him, others to cajole and flatter him. But he always repudiated and discouraged such ideas: “I have naught to do with homage, Nāgita, nor has homage aught to do with me.”¹⁹ On one occasion, when praised by Sāriputta, the Generalissimo of the Dhamma, he ridiculed him with the following words: “You see then, Sāriputta, that you know not the hearts of the Able Awakened ones of the past and of the future. Why therefore are your words so grand and bold? Why do you burst forth into such a song of ecstasy?”²⁰

Being conscious of the consequences of dictatorship or supreme authority, the Buddha neither acted himself as a dictator nor expected others to do the same in his presence or after his passing away. Consequently, he did never appoint his successor or an Abbot of the Brotherhood. The enquiry made of Ānanda by Gopaka Moggallāna testifies to it unmistakably.

“Is there, good Ānanda, even one monk who was designated by the good Gotama saying: ‘After my passing this one will be your support (*paṭisaraṇa*),’ and to whom you might have recourse now?”

“There is not even one monk, brāhmaṇa, who was designated by the Lord who knew and saw, perfected one, fully Self-Awakened one, saying: ‘After my passing this one will be your support,’ and to whom we might have recourse now.”

“But is there even one monk, Ānanda, who is agreed upon by the order and designated by a number of monks who are elders, saying: ‘After the Lord’s passing this one will be our support’, and to whom you might have recourse now?”

18 *CPE.*, vol. IV, 89.

19 BGS., vol. IV, p. 224.

20 DB., Part II, p. 88.

"There is not even one monk, brāhmaṇa, who is agreed upon by the order.....and to whom we might have recourse now."²¹

It also shows that the righteous monks strictly adhered to the admonitions of the Teacher and accordingly did not select or elect their head even after the Great-Decease of the Teacher.

Though the question about the head of the Brotherhood does not arise, for the Lord had already vested the authority in the 'Dhamma and Vinaya': "Yo vo, Ānanda, mayā dhammo ca vinayo ca desito paññatto, so vo mamaccayena satthā,"²² yet Gopaka-Moggallāna remarked: "Evaṃ appaṭisaraṇe, bho Ānanda, ko hetu sāmaggīyā' ti." Ānanda admitted the same (i. e. Dhamma and Vinaya) as the support of the Brotherhood to Gopaka-Moggallāna: "Na kho mayam, brāhmaṇa, appaṭisaraṇā; sappaṭisaraṇā mayam, brāhmaṇa dhammappaṭisaraṇā' ti."²³

Several designations namely, Gaṇadhara²⁴ or the head of a group, Gacchācārya or the teacher of a group and Maṇḍalī-Thera or elderly monk who headed a group etc. of the Jaina Order illustrate distinctly that it adopted autocratic form of administration. In other words it believed in personal authority. The Buddhist Brotherhood, on the other hand, did never conceive of such offices. What is conceived of were Dhammasenāpati, Dhammadhara and Vinayadhara etc., which signify the Generalissimo of the doctrines (Dhamma), the custodian of the doctrines, and the custodian of the ecclesiastical laws (Vinaya) etc. are clearly impersonal. It may be observed thus that Buddha neither outshone the members of the church nor considered himself above all. He stuck to a total avoidance of such ideas. And hence, he preached 'Dhamma and Vinaya' for the welfare of the multitude (*babujanahitāya babujansukhāya*) as the regulator of

²¹ *MLS.*, vol. III, p. 59-60.

²² *Dn.*, Part II, p. 118.

²³ *Mn.*, Part III, pp. 69-70.

²⁴ Lord Mahāvīra had nine Gaṇas but eleven Gaṇadharas, namely Indrabhūti, Agnibhūti etc. Under these Gaṇadharas were placed all the monks of his Order. See *LM.*, pp. 82-83.

the community which derived its authority directly from them (namely, Dhamma and Vinaya) which are entirely impersonal.²⁵

The problem which attracts our attention next is—How did this novel idea come into the mind of the Buddha? Did it occur spontaneously or did he borrow it from others? A brief analysis of the then social, religious and political conditions as mentioned in the Pāli texts will be undoubtedly of much help in this respect.

It is known to all of us that Lord Mahāvīra was a Licchavi Prince by birth and a contemporary of the Buddha. In spite of his being a preacher from their own clan, the Licchavians preferred the Buddha to Mahāvīra. The influence that the Buddha and his teachings exercised upon the orthodox Licchavis may be due to the fact that he adopted the Licchavian constitution for the confraternity with necessary changes. The matter would have taken an opposite turn if he would not have adopted the republican constitution of the Licchavis. The obvious reason behind it was that they were not ready at all to tolerate subjugation. As a testimony to this, the case of the Vajjiputtakas may be put forward. The Vajjiputtaka-Bhikkhus were all Licchavian. No sooner did they perceive that their independent spirit was under subjugation than they separated themselves from the general body of the Church and formed an independent unit known as the Vajjiputtaka-school.²⁶

The democratic set-up of the Buddhist order can best be compared with that of the democratic state. On account of its being a religious unit, the constitution of the Saṅgha cannot be compared with that of the State. But still the influence of King or State on the order can easily be traced. Most often royal life seems to be the background of monastic life as well as of the monastic rules.

Our contention is supported by the reply given by the Buddha to the enquiry made by Vassakāra, the prime Minister

25 See *Buddha*, p. 338.

26 See 'Second Buddhist Council'.

of Ajātasattu, King of Magadha. The Buddha related a set of seven conditions of the welfare of a community (*Satta Aparihāniyā Dhammā*), that were inherent in the Vajjis and further remarked, "so long as the Vajjis will practise these *Aparihāniya Dhammas*, so long may the Vajjis be expected to prosper and not to decline." Thereafter the Buddha prescribed six sets of *Aparihāniya Dhammas* for the Saṅgha. At least the first set is directly derived from the set pointed out about the Vajjis. The others may be regarded as mere corollaries of it. Citation of at least the first two sets—One said about the Vajjis and the other prescribed for the Bhikkhus, will make the position intelligible.

The seven conditions of the welfare said about the Vajjis:

- (1) "So long, Ānanda, as the Vajjians foregather thus often, and frequent the public meetings of their clan;
 - (2) So long, as the Vajjians meet together in concord and rise in concord, and carry out their undertaking in concord;
 - (3) So long, as they enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vajjians, as established in former days;
 - (4) So long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian elders, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words;
 - (5) So long as no women or girls belonging to their clans are detained among them by force or abduction;
 - (6) So long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian shrines (*Caityas*) in town or country, and allow not the proper offerings and rites, as formerly given and performed, to fall into destitute;
 - (7) So long as the rightful protection, defence and support shall be fully provided for the Arhantas among them;
- So long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline but to prosper."

The seven conditions of the welfare prescribed for the Bhikkhus:

(1) "So long as the Bhikkhus meet together in full and frequent assemblies;

(2) So long as they meet together in concord and rise in concord and carry out in concord the duties of the Order (Saṅgha);

(3) So long as the brethren shall establish nothing that has not already been prescribed, and abrogate nothing that has been already established, and act in accordance with the rules of the Order as now laid down;

(4) So long as the brethren honour and esteem and revere and support the elders of experience and long standing, the fathers and the leaders of the Order and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words;

(5) So long as the brethren fall not under the influence of that craving, which springing up within them, would give rise to renewed existence;

(6) So long as the brethren delight in a life of solitude:

(7) So long as the brethren so train their minds in self-possession that the good men among their fellow disciples shall come to them, and those who have come shall dwell at ease;

So long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper."²⁷

Prof. E. J. Rapson maintains that certain technical terms namely, *ñatti* or motion, *ubbāhikā* or 'reference to arbitration', etc. found in the Buddhist Vinaya were most probably borrowed from the constitution of the free clans.²⁸ If this is a fact, then no proof or support is required for the view that the entire system of the administration of the Buddhist Order itself was copied from the existing republican clans. This view is further

²⁷ DB., 'The Book of the Great-Decease.'

²⁸ CHI., p. 157.

corroborated by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal and Miss Bhagavat.²⁹ The least possibility for doubt, if there be any, is again removed by Mahāpāṇḍita Rahul Sankrityayana, when he unhesitatingly asserts that the Buddha organised his Order taking the free clans as his ideal.³⁰

It has already been asserted that democratic spirit, in some form or other, is patent throughout in the constitution of the Buddhist Church. To prove our thesis we propose to give a brief analysis of (1) the rules regarding communal ownership of the Saṅgha property, (2) the problem of seniority and succession in the Buddhist hierarchy, (3) the freedom of learning the Buddhavacana (Sermons of the Buddha) in one's own language and (4) the place of laity in the Buddhist Saṅgha.

1. *Communal Ownership of the Saṅgha-property*

In its early days, the Saṅgha owned no property according to Buddhist Theory. A mendicant is advised to be satisfied "with sufficient robes to cherish his body, with sufficient food to keep his body going." With these words he is further compared with a bird: "whitherso ever he may go forth, these things he takes with him as he goes—just as a bird with wings, whitherso ever he may fly, carries his wings with him as he flies³¹". But later on, the multiplication of the members of the Saṅgha and the introduction of a corporate life in a settled *Āvāsa* (residence) necessitated the acceptance of property by the Order. Consequently, acquisition of gifts became permissible and later on it was considered a 'birth right'³² of the Saṅgha.

Somehow or other, there was some property owned by the Saṅgha. No one could claim it as his own except the right of using it properly and equally with others. If any one wished to make some offer to an individual member of the Saṅgha, it was to be offered to the Saṅgha with special reference to that person³³.

29 HP., p. 42 and ERJ, p. 127.

30 VAG., p. 23.

32 EBJ., p. 156.

31 DB., Part I, p. 81

33 Mv., p. 231.

On the admission of a heretic into the Buddhist Order his properties vested in the Saṅgha. The case of Uruvela Kassapa may be taken as an instance in point³⁴.

After the demise of a Bhikkhu or a Bhikkhunī, the Bhikkhu-Saṅgha or the Bhikkhunī-Saṅgha, as the case may be, was the legal heir to all his or her belongings. It was not to be transferred in any case from Bhikkhu Saṅgha to Bhikkunī-Saṅgha or vice versa³⁵. But the persons who attended him (i.e. the deceased monk or sāmaṇera) during his last sickness were not neglected. In such cases, robes and bowl were to fall in their share and the trifles were to be distributed to the members of the Saṅgha present there³⁶.

This ideal or communal ownership reaches the climax in the injunction made by the Lord: "so long as they shall divide without partiality, and share in common with their upright companions, all such things as they receive in accordance with the just provisions of the Order, down even to the mere contents of a begging bowl, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper³⁷".

2. Problem of Seniority and Succession

Problem of seniority and succession is one of the most significant problems that come before an organisation, of whatever nature it may be. The Buddhist Church was not an exception. Even in the life-time of Lord Buddha the problem arose with regard to individual preferences provided by the Saṅgha.

The main qualifications of the officers of the Buddhist Fraternity were moral integrity, the knowledge of Dhamma and Vinaya and their proper and regular practice. It is evidenced by the rules framed for the guidance of the Saṅgha that "only a learned, competent Bhikkhu who had completed ten years or

34 *Cv.*, p. 233.

36 *Mv.*, p. 319.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 78.

37 *DB.*, Part II, p. 85.

more may confer ordination and give *Nissaya* (dependance)"³⁸; and that "a learned, competent Bhikkhu is allowed to ordain two novices or as many novices as he is able to admonish and instruct to",³⁹ and that "even a Bhikkhu of less standing is to be authorised instantly to recite the *Pātimokkha*, if all the Theras of an *Āvāsa* be ignorant".⁴⁰ We notice that regulations were laid down to encourage the novices and to avoid unhealthy competition as well.

In framing the rules the Buddhist Order showed 'the keenest foresight and a peculiar psychological approach to human nature. Consequently, it was conscious enough of giving the least opportunity that might cause dissension in the Order at any time to come. One of the causes of cessation of the dependence (*Nissaya*), for example, may be cited. The *Nissaya* ceases if the teacher (*Ācariya*), and the preceptor (*Upajjhāya*) of a monk under dependence have come together⁴¹. It distinctly installed the *Upajjhāya* at a level higher than the *Ācariya*.

Moreover, due consideration was given to circumstances beyond one's control. For instance, if a supervisor of the construction of new buildings (*Navakammika*) after taking the charge of the construction of the new buildings becomes incompetent and "if he then admits that he is mad or that his mind is unhinged, or that he is afflicted with bodily pain,, the office and its privileges are still his"; otherwise the Saṅgha becomes the owners.⁴²

We should not forget that the framer or rather the framers of the Buddhist Laws after all were human beings, and as such they were in the know of the human shortcomings and lapses. Their best effort seems to be to accommodate all such short-comings and lapses without defying the rules of

38 *Mv.*, p. 67.

39 *Mv.*, p. 87.

40 *Mv.*, p. 117.

41 *Mv.*, p. 67.—In Hindu and Jaina tradition *Ācārya* is installed higher in position than the *Upādhyāya*.

42 *Cv.*, p. 270.

decorum and decency. The rule that if an Ācariya or an Upajjhāya, as the case may be, committed some grave offence, then he should not be denied the right to hold that office instantly, illustrates it. He should be given even due opportunity to undergo the penance or atone for the offence committed by him. Moreover, his pupil must strive in order that the Saṅgha may revoke its sentence and restore him to the office.⁴³

3. *The freedom for learning Buddha-vacana in one's own language*

Once, emphasising the unification and oneness of his Order, Lord Buddha is reported to have observed ; ‘Just, O Bhikkhus, as the great rivers—that is to say, the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā, the Aciravatī, the Sarabhū, and the Mahī—when they have fallen into the great ocean, renounce their name and lineage and are thenceforth reckoned as the great ocean—just so, O Bhikkhus, do these four castes—the Khattiyas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Vessas, and the Suddas—when they have gone forth from the world under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Tathāgata, renounce their names and lineage, and enter into the number of the Sakyaputtiya Samaṇas⁴⁴’.

What is desired to bring to notice is that the members of the the Saṅgha had come from different families and different corners of the Jambudvīpa with various dialects as their lingua franca. Naturally, it became not only very difficult but really impracticable for them to learn the Buddha-vacana in the language preached by the Blessed one. Two brothers, Yamelu and Tekula who had come from Brāhmaṇa family, therefore, proposed to render the words of the Buddha into Chandas, the Vedic Sanskrit. When the Blessed One was informed he disapproved the proposal and said: ‘‘ I allow, O Bhikkhus, to learn the words of the Buddha, each in your own language⁴⁵’’. Though

43 *Mv.*, pp. 46-47.

44 *SBE.*, vol. XX, p. 304.

45 *SBE.*, vol. XX, p. 155.

the issue is open to question, yet the intention to avoid imposition is reasonably apparent.

4. *Place of laity in the Saṅgha*

It is not easy to determine the place of laity in the Buddhist Church, for "No direct mention is made in the Vinaya of laymen associated with the Saṅgha except that the rules regulate the conduct of the Bhikkhus towards laymen, their reception as Upāsakas, etc⁴⁶". Anyhow, Dr. Pachow has shown that for the same offence—offence of false complaint against a Bhikkhu by an Upāsaka or vice-versa, the penance or punishment imposed upon the Bhikkhu was to some extent heavier than that imposed upon the Upāsaka⁴⁷. This may be due to various reasons. The Upāsakas were not counted as the full-fledged members of the Order⁴⁸, and this may be one of them. In spite of this, the Order was conscious of the fact that its very existence stood on the sympathy and mercy of the lay devotees. Thus the significant position of the lay devotees that they were donors, providers and supporters of the Saṅgha may be another reason. Thus the special latitude granted to the laity by the Saṅgha is justified.

Now it can be taken as an admitted fact that all were on the same footing as regards constitutional rights, privileges and obligations. As such it has rightly been summed up that "The Buddha's administration of the Saṅgha resembled that of a real democratic system⁴⁹".

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⁴⁶ *Vp.*, vol. I, Introduction, p. 13, fn. 2.

⁴⁷ See *JAIOC.*, Legal dealings between the Buddhist Monks and the Laity.

⁴⁸ *Buddha*, p. 382.

⁴⁹ *HBC.*, p. 155.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Cv —Cullavagga (Nālandā Devanāgarī Pāli Series).
 Dn —Dighanikāya („ „ „ „).
 Mn —Majjhimanikāya („ „ „ „).
 Mv —Mahāvagga („ „ „ „).
 Mp —Milindapañha (Pāli Text Society).
 Vp —Vinayapiṭaka („ „ „ „).
 Bgs —The Book of the Gradual Sayings.
 DB —Dialogues of Buddha.
 Dp —Dhammapada (Translated by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan).
 Mls —The Middle Length Sayings.
 SBE —The Sacred Books of the East.
 Buddha —Buddha by Prof. H. Oldenberg.
 CHI —The Cambridge History of India by Prof. E. J. Rapson.
 CPE —Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia.
 EBJ —Early Buddhist Jurisprudence by Miss D. N. Bhagvat.
 EBM —Early Buddhist Monasticism by S. Dutt.
 EMB —Early Monastic Buddhism by N. Dutt.
 HBC —History of Buddhism in Ceylon by Dr. W. Rahuila.
 HP —Hindu Polity by Dr. K. P. Jayasawal.
 JAI OC —Journal of All India Oriental Conference, October,
 1946.
 JMJ —Jaina Monastic Jurisprudence by Dr. S. B. Deb.
 LM —Lord Mahābīra by Dr. Bool Chanda.
 PB —Philosophy of the Buddha by Prof. A. J. Bahm.
 VAG —Vaishālī Abhinandana Grantha.

Yama and Chinese Eschatology

The epic Yama is largely different from his Vedic prototype and this difference can be noticed in their appearance, characteristics, function and significance. In the Vedas, Yama is a kindly patron of departed souls for whom he has prepared a path and abodes¹ in the next world, and the living deposit their dead with him. The epic Yama, however, is altogether different. He is a terrible judge, the ruler of hell with formidable powers; he punishes the evil-doer with various types of torments.

The kindly Vedic god has no trait which could develop in this direction and change him into this terrible deity. In order to understand this change we should look beyond India for the transforming influence. From Chinese eschatology came a new element which helped the transformation of the Vedic god of the dead into the Epic god of death. Avestan and Egyptian mythology also may suggest some links, but while Iranian influence can be easily traced; the route through which Egyptian myths reached India is not clearly known.

Yama in the Vedas is the ruler of Paradise and he remains so even in the earlier parts of the *Mahābhārata*. But in the bulk of the epic we meet a different Yama. There he is associated with awe and fear, sin and judgment, terror and torments. In Indian religious literature where do we meet this Yama for the first time?

In the first section of the *Mahāvastu*, Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt, following Mm. Haraprasad Shastri, says, "Its language and style of composition seem to suggest that the *Mahāvastu* must have been written as early as the 1st or 2nd century B.C."² Mr.

¹ Cf. Christ's assurance, "In my father's house there are many mansions," Jn. 14:2. The idea of the mortals to die and become a death-god may have entered into Christianity from the Egyptian Osiris cult,

² Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt in his article on Buddhist Literature in *2500 Years of Buddhism* (Govt. of India, New Delhi, 1959).

J. J. Jones in his edition of the *Mahāvastu* (1949) quotes Mm. H. P. Shastri's views and says, "But such linguistic criticism must take into account the fact that the *Mahāvastu* is not the composition of a single author written in a well-defined period of time. Rather, it is a compilation which may have been begun in the second century B.C., but which was not completed until the third or the fourth century A.D."

In the first section of the *Mahāvastu* we find that the venerable elder Kolira went down to pay a visit to hell. The circles of hell are many and various—*Kālasūtra*, *Samghāta*, *Raurava*, *Mahāraurava*, *Pratāpa*, *Kukkula*, *Kunapa*, *Kumbha*, and *Sañjīva*. The *Kumbha* hell is full of various types of torments, as are most other circles. In the *Pratāpa* circle there are "hellish creatures armed with pikes and in the *Kālasūtra* hell—in front of Yama's myrmidons, thousands of pieces of burning, flaming and blazing cloth fly through the air and as they come near them the denizens of hell cry out, "Lo, they are on us". We hear of eight great circles of hell and thousands of different hellish torments.

Even in the earliest books of Buddhist mythology we read of *Māra*, the embodiment of evil and death; and he is important because it is in his image that the epic Yama was later cast. The second part of the *Mahāvastu* mentions the dark figure of *Māra* (*Kṛṣṇavarṇa*) and calls him *Namuci* and describes his kingdom. This *Māra* had to be defeated before the Buddha attained enlightenment. The Pāli *Dhammapada* calls *Māra* *Taṇhā* (*Tṛṣṇā*=desire); the cause of evil and therefore of death. He is also called *Kṛṣṇabandhu*, the friend of darkness. The *Dhammapada* was translated into Chinese by Dharmarakṣa in 286 A.D. and by Kumārajīva in 383 A.D. and became the main scripture of the Chinese Buddhists.

When Buddhism came into being in India it was preached in the background of a theology which knew no personified evil. This concept entered into the Buddhist theology rather late—towards the early Christian era. But before that time it had gone to China. "Buddhism was introduced by missionaries from Central

Asia and later from India, probably about the time of Christ.³ Dr. P. C. Bagchi also says, "Positive evidence is now available to prove that small Indian colonies had been founded in the southern part of this region (i.e. Chinese Turkestan) from Khotan up to the Labnor region before the Christian era. An Indian dialect, similar to that of north-western India was the official language in some of these states."⁴ T. Burrow says, "At one time a form of Prākṛta became the administrative language of the kingdom of Krorama in the Chinese Turkestan. Buddhist Sanskrit texts were current over a wide area."⁵ "The Indian colonists were the first to carry Buddhism to this region—The first monastery in Khotan was built in 211 B.C. The tradition further claims that an Indian dynasty ruled Khotan for 56 generations during which Buddhism continued to be the dominant religion of the state."⁶ Throughout the Han period (65-200 A.D.) a number of Indian scholars had come to China, worked among the Chinese and translated a fairly large number of texts into Chinese. There was also traffic from China to India. "During the last three decades of the first century small forces pushed their way into Central Asia. The Chinese even crossed the Pamir and for a few years after 90 A.D. exacted annual tribute from the Kuṣāṇa kingdom ruling in Afganistan and northern India during the first two centuries of our era."

What was the result of this social, linguistic, political and religious intercommunication between China and India? It is well-known that this intercourse led to many significant results and the change in the nature and function of Yama can be explained by it. For, when Buddhism reached China it found there not a developed theology (since Confucianism was more ethical than theological) but a very old system of eschatology. People believed in the manes, the dead forefathers who in their

3 *An Encyclopædia of World History*. (Ed. Langer. Harvard).

4 P. C. Bagchi: Article in *2500 Years of Buddhism*.

5 T. Burrow: *The Sanskrit Language* (Faber).

6 *Encyclopædia Americana*, vol. 6, article on China.

spiritual form wielded a powerful control over the people. Macdonell says, "The worship of ancestors (in China) first begins to be mentioned in 2255 B.C. It is mentioned so often and in such detail that we cannot doubt that it was also the core of the ancient religion. There can be no doubt that ancestor worship has had a moralising influence on the life of the Chinese. The punishing hand of the forefathers is always present on the house-altar and in the temple of the family deterring many a son or daughter from evil. It has undoubtedly exercised a powerful influence upon Chinese family life and social institutions".⁷ This fear of punishment meted out by the dead forefathers came to influence the Indian Yama who also was, according to the Vedas, the first of the mortals to die (yo mamāra prathamō martyānam; Atharvaveda 18, III, 13); so that with time Yama assumed a new role, namely, that of the punisher of evil.

In the earlier part of the *Mahābhārata* we see a familiar Yama who reminds us of his Vedic prototype. In the *Sabhāparvan*, an earlier book, is described the heaven of the blessed over which Yama rules. There Nārada describes him, his kingdom, royal court and hall, his rich splendour and power, and also his messengers (*Sabhāp. Canto. 8, verse 32*). There is neither hunger nor thirst there, the pious souls together with Time and Death worship him there (*verse 29*). A parallel of this Yama is found in the Chinese concept of the Yen (—Yama) kings who are attached to the 18 hells distributed among 10 lawcourts. "The Yen-kings are represented in the dress of the Emperors, just like the august personages and Emperors of the Eastern Peak."

But once Yama becomes the king of the dead he has to rule over the damned as well as the blessed. And in the later parts of the *Mahābhārata* we find the counterpart of the Yama of the *Sabhāparvan*. In the *Anuśāsanaparvan* we have death and Yama

7 Macdonell: *Lectures on Comparative Religion* (Calcutta 1925).

occurring frequently and here Yama in hell is very often thought of as the judge, the punisher of the wicked. This Yama is a new figure and the Chinese ancestor-worship, with its association of fear of judgment together with its ethical bearings could easily be assimilated into a worship of its Indian prototype—Yama, the first ancestor to die.

When Buddhism reached China, "Orthodox Buddhism steadily became heterodox and came to acquire characteristics of its own... The Chinese interpreted the Indian texts in consonance with the traditional pattern that they had inherited from their forefathers."⁸ It is thus that eschatology entered into Buddhism in China where it had long existed as part of the traditional system of beliefs. Now when it returned to India it naturally brought with it all that it had acquired in China. So this ancestor-judge travelled to India with merchants and missionaries. After reaching India it did not remain within the bounds of Buddhism but began to affect the Epic mythology—especially the latter part of it which was still in the making. Edward Conze says, "In China the Mādhyamika school existed as a separate school: San Loen T'sung. Between 100 B.C. and 200 A.D. Mahāyāna burst into a profusion of Sūtras."¹⁰ The time is very important: it was at this time that there was a brisk traffic of pilgrims from China to India and of missionaries from India to China. It is after this that we find hell and the new Yama in the *Mahābhārata*, and the Buddhist counterpart of this Yama, namely, Māra, appears for the first time. "The origin of the whole legend of Māra, to which we have two early references, inconsistent with one another, is perhaps to be found in the Āriyapariyesana sutta (*Majjhima Nikāya* vol I p 167 and *Mahāvagga* i: i 1 to i:4:5). Of Sutta-nipāta, Kern says, "the great bulk of the

⁸ Larousse: *Encyclopædia of Mythology* (Batchworth Press, London)

⁹ Sasaki: article in *2500 Years of Buddhism*.

¹⁰ Edward Conze: *Buddhism Its Essence and Development* (Bruno Cassirer, Oxford).

¹¹ Rhys Davids: *History and Literature of Buddhism*, 1932.

Sutta-nipāta in substance probably existed already in the third century B. C.”¹² The concept of Māra in the older books is hazy and inconsistent. He is mentioned clearly in the Mahāvastu and the Dhammapada,—both composed after China and India were brought closer to each other through Buddhism.

The Anuśāsana-parvan Yama is cruel and relentless and he torments the evil doer. These torments are also described in detail in Sabbhāparvan 2.16.25. His prototype is to be found in the Chinese Yen-kings. Naturally the tortures used in hell are many and varied, so that each crime has its appropriate punishment. The kings of hell have crowds of satellites to carry out their orders. These satellites are represented as armed with a mace, bearing iron-pikes or a trident.”¹³ Once hell and its king came to India, an elaborate eschatology began to be woven around it, so that when it went back to China, China got a finished product out of the raw material she had exported. Later Chinese eschatology is influenced by this remodelled set of beliefs so that Ou-I-Tai in his article on Chinese Mythology says, “Like all Chinese mythology, hell is a mixture of Taoism and Buddhism with a special preponderance given to the peculiarities of Buddhistic hell.” Now the Buddhistic images of Death and hell are largely influenced by the Epic images where ‘he is depicted as grim and awe-inspiring in aspect, green in colour, riding on a buffalo, holding a club in one hand and a noose in the other.’ Elsewhere he has a mace and a trident too.”¹⁴ All these attributes and associations went to the making of the Chinese concepts of death and hell.

While this process of syncretism was going on, India had been imbibing Iranian and Egyptian concepts of hell. Both of these are quite elaborate and it is very likely that they left lasting impressions on Buddhist eschatology before it travelled back to China in the early centuries before and after Christ.

¹² Kern: *Manual of Indian Buddhism* (Grundriss Series 1896).

¹³ *Larousse Encyclopædia*.

¹⁴ Monier-Williams: *Religious Thought and Life in India*.

In the *Mahābhārata* Yama deals death to those whose span of life is over. In Chinese mythology, too, "when the registers of Death and Life kept by the Yen-king show that a man has reached the end of his earthly existence, the Yen-king sends two of his satellites to seize the man's soul and bring it before the infernal law courts." One curious similarity is to be found in the fact that this august king of death is not above making mistakes. Thus "sometimes it happens that owing to a similarity of name or some other error the wrong soul is brought along, in which case, the god allows it to return to earth and re-enter the body in which he lives." An exact parallel is found in the *Mahābhārata* story of the Brāhmaṇa Śarmin who was brought by mistake by Yama's messengers and was allowed to return to his body (*Anuśāsanap.* c. 68-69). Again, there is the episode of Naciketas (c. 71) who returned alive from Yama—to whom he had come on account of his father's curse—a curse the father had not really meant. Both these instances of people dying prematurely through some mistake and returning alive aim at emphasising the dictum that men should give liberally to Brāhmaṇas as both Śarmin and Naciketas witness in the next world the bliss awaiting such givers. These passages may have been interpolated when the Epic was being reshuffled by Brāhmaṇas at a later date (cf. Winternitz on the Mbh in *Indian Literature vol I*). This is clearer from the Yama-Naciketas episode which undergoes transformation at the hands of the Brāhmaṇas. The philosophical message of the Upaniṣadic story is transformed into a mere injunction to give more to the Brāhmaṇas. All this was done later, after Buddhism, when Brāhmanism needed reconsolidation against the menace of Buddhism. And the Epic concept of Yama and hell of this period drew largely upon the Buddhist eschatology as it returned to India with the Chinese notions of hell and the Yen-king.

Kern writes about the Buddhist cosmic system, that "the universe consists of innumerable spheres—between those spheres are situated certain hells termed Lokāntarita. Each of the spheres con-

sists of three Avacaras (regions). The lowest region is the abode of six classes of gods." The third class of gods are called the Yamas. "The very lowest of the thirty-one abodes of living beings are the hells or places of punishment (naraka niraya)—Above the hells is placed the animal kingdom. Higher than the animal kingdom is the abode of pretas, ghosts, spectres, though these beings are also placed in the Lokāntarita hell." When beings are classified into 14 groups according to their spiritual merits the thirteenth group consists of pretas, ghosts, spectres and the 14th, of the inhabitants of hell. This elaborate system of spheres and hells reminds us of the Chinese parallels. It is extremely likely that Buddhism received some of its elaboration of cosmogony and eschatology during its sojourn in China.

In Chinese mythology we hear of the Yen-kings that "One of these kings is Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha Ti-Tsang-Wang. In his human life Ti-Tsang was a young Brāhmaṇa who made a vow to save all souls engulfed in sin."¹⁵ This human past of the king of the dead reminds us of Yama who also was a mortal. Of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha Dr. Reichelt says, "Ti-Tsang has thus become the great Bodhisattva of Hades, and as such deals with all those who have been shut in upon the Iron-Grille mountain (Tieh-Wei-Shan) in the eighteen great hells, the 500 smaller and the 1000 little hells (Ti-r'-ao). Punishment is administered by the great overlord Tung-Yoh and his viceroy Yen-loh. The latter corresponds to the Yama of Hinduism and is especially feared."¹⁶ Although Dr. Reichelt mentions a tradition which makes Kṣitigarbha a Korean who became Bodhisattva c 754 A. D. yet this tradition appears unreliable in view of documentary evidence to the contrary. Sri Benoytosh Bhattacharya records Hiuen Tsang's mention of Kṣitigarbha and this traveller came to India between 629 and 645 A. D.¹⁶ So, Kṣiti-

¹⁵ Ludwig Reichelt: *Religion in Chinese Garment* (Lutterworth Press, London, 1951).

¹⁶ B. Bhattacharya: *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, (Oxford University Press, 1932).

garbha is not a very late figure and he and his viceroy share Yama's traits. Again the *Guhyasamāja*, a work of the third or fourth century A. D. mentions five Dhyānī Buddhas of whom Akṣobhya rules over the Dveṣa family and Yamāri is a god who emanated from Akṣobhya. Yamāri is described as riding on a buffalo—a trait he has in common with the epic Yama. And Akṣobhya is first mentioned as a Tathāgata in the Amitāyus Sūtra which was translated into Chinese between 384 and 417 A.D. (or between 140 and 170 A.D. according to Kern).

Thus as Buddhism travelled between China and India Yama's figure as a death-judgment god became clearer and more and more well-defined both in Buddhist and Hindu mythology, till the old Vedic patron god gave way to the formidable figure of the Epic Yama.¹⁷

SUKUMARI BHATTACHARI

¹⁷ The number of analogies that the Chinese and Buddhist hells remind us of Dante's Inferno.

Coins of the Dark Age

One of the great hiatuses in the history of Bihar in general, and numismatics in particular, is the period, immediately after the decline and downfall of the Mauryan empire. Pauranic tradition and Ayodhya Inscription state that Pushyamitra, a general (*Senāpati*) possibly of the last Mauryan *faineant* founded a new dynasty called the Śuṅgas.¹ His son Agnimitra, immortalised by Kālidāsa in his *Mālavikāgnimitram*, and all others have the surname 'Mitra'. Coins of various kings having that suffix has a wide diffusion in northern India. Śrīmatī Belā Lāhirī correctly points out that, the findspots are in Gangetic basin, *Madhyadesā* of Manu. Recently, I had occasion to pay some attention to this subject, after 20 long years, in connection with the very insignificant excavations that I carried out at the so-called Jivākāmbavana, at Rājgir, in 1957-59. I found that a plethora of theories have been made, on an extremely subjective basis, where, if wise counsel had prevailed, strictest discipline would have prevented logomachy of thoughts. Secondly, while other findspots have been analysed, the eastern Indian finds have neither been analysed nor adequately evaluated. They are even now to be found in scattered publications, from archaeological 'blue books' to journals.

The main finds have so far been confined to few principal places, such as: Rājgir, Pāṭaliputra, Vaiśālī and Nālandā. At Nālandā, the earliest coin so far found, is a gold plated (?) copper coin, and few cast copper coins similar to those found at Rājgir.²

¹ The evidence is well summarised by R. Chanda in *IHQ.*, 1929, p. 594 ff.

² *AR. ASI.*, 1930-34 pt. ii, p. 280. The editorial comments of Dr. C. L. Fabri are most illuminating.

Pāṭaliputra

The first scientific excavations at Pāṭaliputra, financed by late Sir Ratan Tātā, yielded the following types of coins:—

- (a) The square cast coins, which are the earliest, bore on either side: Tree within railing; hill surmounted by crescent³ and hollow cross: elephant; taurine and *Svastikā*.
- (b) Circular cast coins of the following type:
Elephant before a standard and hill surmounted by crescent.⁴
- (c) Coins of Indramitra.⁵

The negative evidence supplied by the first year's finds is not at all negligible. No coins of the so-called Pāñcāla kings had been found.⁶ The excavations of K. P. J. Institute, carried out from 1951-55, have yielded several local coins, which according to their archaeological contexts, extend from Śuṅga to Kushāna periods. The types are (1) (a) of 1912-13 excavations; (2) Elephant, hollow cross, standard and taurine; crescented hill, tree in railing, standard and taurine. (3) Elephant, hollow cross: Sun, crescented hill and tree in railing. (4) Kauśāmbī coins—Lankey Bull type. (5) Coins of Bhūmimitra of Pāñcāla. (6) Few Ayodhyā coins.⁷

Pir-Nagara in Munghyr district

Sri V. K. Mīśra found a number of cast coins at Pir-Nagara, in Munghyr district. Their types and sizes are not known.

3 This symbol, as first pointed out by Jayaswal, also occurs on the base of a pillar found at Kumrahar.

4 *JNSI.*, vol. xiii, p. 144.

5 *PR. ASI.*, 1912-13, p. 61.

6 Cf. however *JNSI.*, vol. xx, pp. 125-26 and fn. 4.

7 Through the courtesy of A. S. Altekar,

Rājgir

(1) Six copper coins were found by D. R. Sahni in the excavation of New Rājgir.⁸ The type was usual Elephant standing to r., on obverse; and and tree in railing on reverse.

(2) A second class of coins called by him square copper coins of Punch Marked variety were also mentioned by him. But their quantity and types are not stated.

(3) Late J. G. Jennings of Patna College presented to the Patna Museum, one P. M. coin and eight square cast coins (seven copper and one bronze) of the following type: Elephant: tree within railing.⁹

(4) Sri Ajit Ghose also published some rare oblong coins (cast-square or rectangular?) from Rājgir of about 11 varieties discussed by him elaborately.¹⁰

(5) Sri S. S. Roy described some coins found at Rājgir belonging to the 11th variety of Sri Ghose.¹¹

(6) The Archaeological Department has ten or twelve copper coins, mostly surface collection from Rājgir.

Vedivan (Champāran district)

Sri S. V. Sohoni has brought to our notice a copper coin found at Vedivan in Champāran district of the undermentioned type:

Elephant to left: Crescented hill.¹²

The above analysis, enables us to assess the *status quo* in Magadha as far as numismatic evidence is concerned, after the exit of the Mauryas. First, being minted in copper they were the currency for the masses. Silver P. M. coins were current in Mauryan times. But, we may hypothetically assume, in the second place, that silver coated P. M. coins were introduced in

8 *AR. ASI.*, 1905-06, p. 102.

9 *JBORS.*, vol. iii, p. 173.

10 *JNSI.*, vol. i, p. 5 ff. and pl. iii.

11 *Num. Supplement No. XLVI. Art. 329.*

12 *JBORS.*, vol. xli, p. 166 fn. 1.

late Mauryan or post-Mauryan times, possibly as an ineffectual attempt to meet a need when an economic morraige had been reached, at the end of the first imperialistic glaciation of Magadha. Thirdly the non-availability of silver coins, so far, might mean that they were not current or they were more carefully hoarded. The excavations have been carried over such an insignificant area at Kumrāhār, with extremely limited scope that, it is illogical to build broad theories on these.

Three types of coins (including the varieties of Sri A. Ghosh), have been found at Rājgir and since the earlier levels at Rājgir have never been reached, it is far better to suspend judgment on the same. The most common type, on the other hand, at Kumrāhār is:

Obv: Tree within railing; crescented hill; hollow cross and taurine.

Rev: Elephant before standard; taurine and *Svastikā*.

Cunningham found them chiefly at Vārāṇasī. They were found at Besnagar by D. R. Bhandakar and now we have them in large quantity at Patna. There is one coin of 'K' variety of Allan found at Kuśīnagar, in district Deoriā, at present in the Archaeological Department.¹³ Two coins of this type found at Paikpar, in Purnea district, are with Sri S. K. Chakravartī, then Collector, Purnea.

The other type found at Kumrāhār is, met with on round cast coins. Parenthetically, it might be pointed out that, the first type too is also cast; but in form and shape they are rectangular or oblong.

Obv. Elephant: Crescent on hill.

Cunningham was of opinion that, they are met with all over northern India. A. S. Altekar has correctly pointed out that, these symbols occur on P. M. coins too.¹⁴ But, I do not think that, this shows that the cast coins were prevalent in Mauryan times. In the first place, the existence of two different

¹³ To be shortly published.

¹⁴ *JNSI.*, vol. xiii, p. 145.

techniques is inexplicable, especially when we know that copper P. M. coins were also current. What they indicate probably, in the second place is, the continuity of the grammar of symbolism, inherited from a remote antiquity.

The variety of coin types found at Rājgir by Sṛī Ajit Ghose is significant. According to Sri B. N. Dar, coins of the first variety have been collected from Ramnagar or Ahichchhatrā in Bairelly district of U. P.¹⁵ All these indicate that these uninscribed cast coins whether square or round had a wide diffusion, and can by no means be regarded as 'local,' in any sense of the term, and were probably issued by a dynasty, whose political influence extended beyond Magadha.

The coins of Indramitra have now become a problem. Śrīmātī Belā Lāhirī has assumed that, the coins of Indramitra found at Pāṭaliputra belong to the monarch of the same name of the Pāñcāla country, but she has adduced no reason why *vice-versa* was not the case? The coins possibly were minted at Pāṭaliputra and found in Pāñcāladeśa? This theory receives confirmation from the fact that queen Kuraṅgī, who dedicated several members of the balusters at Bodh Gaya, was the consort of one Indramitra. Secondly, no coins of any other Pāñcāla king like Agnimitra, Bhadrashosha etc., have been found, so far, in Bihar.

Theodore Bloch drew our attention to the fact that "older part of the Bodh Gaya railing was put up in the middle of 2nd century B. C., about 100 years after the time of Asoka"¹⁶. R. D. Banerji, a pupil of his, stated in 1919 that "The cave inscriptions of Daśaratha are about half a century older than those on the railing pillars at Bodh Gaya." He also gave an analysis of the palaeography of the *ex-voto* records.¹⁷ Secondly, we know that the Śuṅgas and Pāñcāla kings were

¹⁵ He was Commissioner of Rohilkhand division and being a pupil of E. J. Rapson was a keen student of Archaeology.

¹⁶ *AR. ASI.*, 1908-09, p. 147.

¹⁷ *Origin of the Bengali script*, p. 12 ff.

followers of Bramhinical religion; while Kuramgī's benefactions show that Indramitra was a Buddhist, unless we assume, that like Govindacandra the Gāhaḍavāla and Kumāradevī, the husband was a Hindu and the wife a Buddhist. A presumption, in support of which there is no evidence.

The only alternative is to assume that, there was a dynasty of kings in Magadha, which arose here (in Bihar) after the invasion of Khāravela, over the ruins of the Śuṅga kingdom when after 125 B. C., the provinces became independent. A new approach therefore is necessary in evaluating numismatic evidence of this dark age. A mass of evidence should be garnered before the final conclusion can be drawn.

ADRIS BANERJI

Some Aspect of Vowel Contraction in Prakrit

On the suggestion of Hemacandra, Pischel states¹ that in Apabhraṃśa the base-forms are often used as inflected words in the nominative and accusative cases both singular and plural and such forms very often shorten or lengthen their final vowel in compliance with the exigency of rime and metre. In conformity with this tendency the a-stems when inflected by the addition of terminations show the final vowel as —u (the usual ending), —a, —ā in the sing, and —ā, —a in the plur. Such a statement of Pischel does not find a ready approval as Alsdorf, on the authority of Jacobi, states that in Svetaṃbara—Ap.—particularly of the *Sanatkumāracaritam* all the poly-syllabic words end in a short vowel. That such a feature obtains in the Digambara—Ap. too is stated by Alsdorf, who, by a study of the speech of the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, concludes that although the shortening of the

1 "In A. wird oft der reine Stamm als N. Acc. G. Sing. und plur. gebraucht". Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen § 364.

"Da schliessende Vocale in Ap. nach Metrum und Reim verlängert oder verkürzt werden" *ibid*.

The relevant sūtras of Hemacandra are: *syam-jas-śasām luk IV. 344. syādaṁ dīrgha—brasvaṇ IV. 330.*

Such lengthening and shortening have been strongly denounced by Alsdorf, which is known from the following extract:

"Die Ansicht von der beliebigen Dehn-und Kürzbarkeit auslautender Vokale im Ap. ist aber überhaupt eingrundlegender, für das Verständnis der Sprache verhängnisvoller Irrtum gewesen. Schuld daran war nebern der allgemeinen irrigen Vorstellung von der Regellosigkeit und Willkür in Ap. besonders Hems Regel IV. 330. "Im Ap. wird der End-vokal eines Nomens im Nominativ sing. usw. gewöhnlich lang und kurz; d. h. schliessende vokale können verlängert oder verkürzt werden." Man beachte, dass die letzte verallgemeinerung (d. h.") schon nicht mehr von Hem, sondern von Pischel stammt. Hem's Regel, obgleich von der wirklichen sprache abstrahiert, ist denkbar unglücklich gefasst und historisch vollkommen irre-führend*. *Apabhraṃśa Studien* p. 6.

For English translation of the fns. in German, see last page.

final vowel in the poly-syllabic words stands as a general rule in the speech occasionally the occurrence of a short vowel is disturbed by the working of the Pkt. tendencies and the manifestation of a secondary contraction in contact vowels—a feature of later origin. We come to know from him that the *Harivaṁśa-purāṇa* and the *Bhavisattakabā* contain secondary long sounds—the outcome of vowel contractions in the nom. acc. plur. masc. ending in *ā*, the voc. in *ā* and the nom. acc. sing. fem. in *ī*. Now, as we come to learn further from him Pischel's *Materialen zur Kenntniss des Apabhraṁśa* too possesses all these forms of the nom. acc. voc. (masc.) and nom. acc. (fem.), which are characterised by the occurrence of the same long vowel in the final syllable. But along with these there occurs in the *Materialen zur Kenntniss des Apabhraṁśa* also a form of the nom. acc. sing. both masc. and neut., that has got the long vowel *ā* at the end.

Here it is necessary to point out that according to Alsdorf the a-stems cannot transform the final short-vowel into a long one i.e. there cannot be ever the modification of a short *a* to *ā* in the nom. acc. sing. of both masc. and neut.² He neither believes that the nom. sing. form in *ī* of the fem. stem can come down in Ap. as a legacy from Pkt. that has maintained the same (i.e. the long vowel *ī*) even when the fem. *ī* stems have become inflected by the annexation of the termination in the nom. sing. As he maintains, the nom. sing. *-ā* and *-ī* of masc. and fem. respectively are in fact the products of a vowel contraction, which appeared as a very common phenomenon in the NIA speeches, but had its beginnings even during the days of Pkts.³

2 Vide the preceding note.

3 The following statement of Alsdorf is to be noted:;

“Ich glaube HP. § 25.42 nachgewiesen zu haben, dass es sich in allen drei Fällen nicht um alte ererbte prakritische Längen handelt, sondern dass die drei Formen sämtlich dem (durch *ka svārthe*) erweiterten paradigma angehören—und dass *ā* in beiden Fällen aus-*aya* contrahiert ist.” *Apabhraṁśa Studien* p.7.

It is a common phenomenon that pleonastic *a* (i.e. Skt. *kaś* *svārthe*) is very often added to the vocables in —⁴ more extensively in Ap. with a view to arresting the decay of sound in the final syllable. This *a* along with the final vowel —*a* of the stem becomes —*ao* in the nom. sing. in Pkt. but —*ai* in Ap., which ultimately becomes transformed into *ā*. The fem. *ī* stems too, which shortened its final vowel in Ap. along with the following pleonastic *a* (i.e. Skt. *ka*) becomes —*ia* in Ap. This —*ia* of Ap. develops further into —*ī* in the same very speech and becomes a source of confusion with the probability of being mistaken for the very form of Pkt, that admits the occurrence of a long vowel in the final position. This becomes clear from the following statement of Alsdorf: "It must be clear that the change of —*ai* to —*ā* is fundamentally different from that of —*ai* to —*o*. By contraction —*ai* can become changed to (—*au*) —*o*. But when *ai* becomes *ā*, the phenomenon is to be explained according to my estimate by assuming that the final vowel is elided under the stress of the compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel: exactly it is the same procedure, which led to the mentioned transformation of —*ia*, —*iu* to *ī*: thus in these cases one cannot possibly speak of a contraction. I am in agreement with Grierson, who writes (in Mod. Ind. Vern. §187 [7]): *ī + a*, *u + a*, *ē + a*. The *a* is elided and if the accent falls on the *i*, *u*, *e* it is lengthened."⁵

4 Hemacandra says :

svārthe kaśca vā Prakrit grammar II. 164. *svārthe kaścahārādillollan dītaub pratyayau vā bhavataḥ, dvirapi bhavati vahnayam* (=Skt. *bahū*).

This annexation of double pleonastic suffixes point to the frequency of the phenomenon.

5 "Man muss sich zunächst darüber klar sein, dass der Wandel von *ai* zu *ā* etwas grundsätzlich anderes ist als der von —*ai* zu —*o*. Durch contraction kann aus *ai* immer nur (über —*au*) —*o* werden. Wenn aber *ai* zu *ā* wird, so ist dies M. E. nur so zu erklären, dass der schliessende Vokal abgefallen ist unter Ersatzdehnung des vorhergehenden: genau derselbe Vorgang, der zu dem oben besprochenen Übergang von —*ia*, —*iu* in *ī* führte; auch in diesen Fällen kann man unmöglich von einer contraction sprechen. Ich befinde mich hier in übereinstimmung mit

Grierson's proposition, upon which Alsdorf bases his explanation, appears in some detail also in another paper, entitled '*Phonology of the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars*' (ZDMG vol 49). It is to be noted that the phenomenon, which Grierson describes and Alsdorf fully accepts without any modification whatsoever, appears both in the interior of words and in the terminational elements. As Grierson suggests, there are two such terminations namely —*īā* and —*ūā* in Pkt, which remain at the basis of the formation of the words *ghōṛīā* (mare) and *bālūā* (sand) respectively and stand as glaring evidences to the above-stated phonetic development. As we learn from him the final long vowel *ā* in the words *ghōṛīā* and *bālūā* at first become shortened and leads to the origin of vocalic combinations like —*īa* and —*ūa*. Then the final vowel of both —*īa* and —*ūa* is elided and the preceding *i* and *u*, which possess a secondary accent, become lengthened by way of compensation.⁶ So the two forms *ghōṛīa* and *bālūa* finally emerge as *ghōṛī* and *bālū* respectively in the NIA stage of the speech. Here it should be noted that in the words *ghōṛīa* and *bālūā*, which were the immediate predecessors of NIA *ghōṛī* and *bālū* the secondary accent remained in the second syllable in both the cases, while the chief accent—probably a heavy stress fell on the initial syllable. Alsdorf, who has accepted this phenomenon and tried to explain the Ap. forms on the basis of this phonetic law, assu-

Grierson, der (Mod. Ind. Vern. § 187 [7]) schreibt: *i + a, u + a, ē + a*. The *a* is elided, and if the accent falls on *i, u* or *e* it is lengthened," *Apabhrāmśa Studien* p. 14.

6 See "*Phonology of the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars*." ZDMG vol 49 § 37.9. Grierson states:

īā and *ūā* are common as termination of nouns. As *īā, ūā* or *īyā, ūvā* they make long forms. Thus *ghōṛīyā* (mare) and *bālūā* (sand).

They are liable to contraction, as in the case of medial *īa* and *ūa*, and the *ī* or *ū* (which has a secondary accent) being lengthened. They then form strong forms, E. g. from *ghōṛīā, ghōṛī*. From Skt. *maṇḍikāṃ* Ap. *mōṭṭiyāṇ*. IAV *mōṭṭi* from *mōṭṭiyā* 'a pearl,' so again from *bālūā, bālū* 'sand'.

mes that the Ap. nom. sing. —*ai* (a development from Pkt.—*ao*) at first loses the final *u* of the vowel-group and the preceding —*a*, which must have borne the secondary accent, becomes —*ā* as a result of the loss of the final vowel. In the identical manner in the case of the fem. —*i* bases too the Ap. termination —*ia* at first loses the final vowel *a* and concomitantly lengthens the preceding vowel —*i* leading ultimately to the corresponding long vowel (i.e. *ī*).

Now, the problem is whether it is possible for us to accept the explanation of Alsdorf. There are certain facts, which should be remembered in this connection. We do not get any conclusive evidence in support of the assumption that there actually happened a loss of the final vowel in the vowel-groups —*ia* and *ūa*. Secondly the assumption that when the first syllable possesses the chief accent the second possesses a secondary one, which Grierson surmises in both *ghôriā* and *bātūā* does not seem to be quite correct. Because, as we have noted in many cases, when there is a heavy stress on the first syllable the second has a tendency to lose its accent altogether, as a consequence of which there happens syncopation i.e. the loss of the vowel in the second syllable.⁷ Thirdly even if there remains the possibility of occurrence of the secondary accent in the second syllable when the first has got a heavy stress the analogy of

7 In his excellent paper "*Über die Betonung im Klassischen Sanskrit und in den Prakrit Sprachen*" Jacobi suggests that in the Classical Sanskrit the Vedic pitch accent is no longer found to be in use and its place is occupied by the Ictus or Latin accent—which is a kind of stress, that usually falls on the penultimate long syllable. He unequivocally states that this stress is so strong that there is weakening of the post-accentual syllable, as a result of which there happens the loss of the vowel in the same. It becomes clear from the following statement of him: "Im Jaina-prākṛit findet sich öfters ein Wort *sanapphaya*=*sanakhpada*; die Mittelstufe war, wie die Assimilation der beiden Consonanten zeigt, **sanakhpada*. Das Sanskritwort nach unserer Annahme auf der vierletzten Silbe betont; der Vokal der drittlezten wurde als in der nachtonigen silbe stehend geschwächt und fiel aus." ZDMG vol 47, pp 574 ff.

ghôriā and *bālūā* does not become applicable to the forms with —*āü* (masc.) and —*īa* (fem.) of Alsdorf. Because, as Grierson surmises, the vowels—*i* and —*u* of *ghôriā* and *bālūā* stand as the initial sounds of the terminations—*īā* (skt *ikā*.) and —*uā* (skt. *ukā*) respectively. But the vowels *a* and *i* of *āü* and —*īa* respectively of Alsdorf, which are assumed to have been lengthened due to loss of the following vowels *u* and *a*, do not form the terminational elements but stand as the final vowels of the stems. So the analogy of *ghôriā* and *bālūā* has very little scope of application in the case of forms with—*āü* and —*īa* as Alsdorf surmises. As such they have the very little chance of bearing the secondary accent.

Another fact should also be taken into consideration here. Grierson suggests that in the words *ghôriā* and *bālūā* there happens a shifting of accents. As the accent-mark indicates originally the chief accent remains on the first syllable and the secondary on the second. But some time later in course of evolution the two accents exchange their places. As a result the same words *ghôriā* and *bālūā* show the chief accent as lying on the second syllable and the secondary on the first. When the words pass through this particular stage of development there occurs the fall of the final vowel and the concomitant lengthening of the accented vowel in the second syllable. It passes beyond our comprehension as to why there should be such shifting of accents, for which Grierson has not given any reason.

Some of the words, which show this type of loss of the post-accentual vowel and are cited by Jacobi are:

Pūgapbala = **pūgpbala* = *poppbala*

sūrabbi = **surbbi* = *subbbi*

dūrabbi = **durbbi* = *dubbbi* etc.

We can also mention some:

pādāti = **padti* = *patti*

jhāṭiti = **jhaṭti* = *jbatti*

idānim = **idnim* = *inṇim* = *eṇbirn* etc.

In the words *padāti* and *idānim* the chief accent on the second syllable was suppressed due to the fall of a heavy stress on the initial syllable.

Thus we are reluctant to accept the explanation of Alsdorf, which he suggests regarding the transformation of masc. —*aü* to *ā* and fem. —*ia* to *ī*. On the contrary, we believe that Ap. —*aü*, a resultant from Pkt. —*ao*, becomes —*aa* as a consequence of vowel assimilation and the vowel combination —*aa* develops into *ā* by way of contraction. Similarly it is possible for us to surmise that fem. —*ia* at first undergoes vowel assimilation, as a result of which the same becomes transformed into —*ii*, which ultimately leads to a long *ī*. Let us take some concrete examples. Skt. *uṛkṣaka* becomes *vacchao* (Pkt.) = *vacchāü* (Ap.) = *vacchaa* = *vacchā*, similarly *nadikā* becomes *naia* (Ap.) = *naīi* = *naī*. Here the vowel contraction might have happened due to a heavy stress on the initial syllable, which becomes a feature of the Aryan speech during the—MIA and NIA periods.

We intend to produce some evidences in support of our proposition. It is a fact that during the later stage of Ap. there happened vowel assimilation in the speech in a very extensive scale. Such assimilation immensely affected the end of the word, as a result of which there happened the qualitative change of sounds in the final syllables. As terminations came after the basic stems in the words, it was they, who suffered most and fell victims to these sound changes. Jacobi speaks of this common occurrence of vowel assimilation—particularly in the terminational elements in his *Sanatkumāracaritam*. We come to know the following facts about vowel assimilation from this work. In Ap. the *a*-stems in the gen. sing. have got usually —*abo*, which becomes —*aba*; the *i*-stems (both masc. and fem.) had originally —*ihe*, which becomes —*ibi* and likewise *u*-stems develop —*ubu* from —*uhe*. In the gen. plur. as a result of assimilation the *a*-stems have —*abā*, *i*-stems —*ibī* (from —*ibā* and *ibū*) and *u*-stems —*ubū* (from —*ubā*). We get in the fem. stems the same —*abā* (from —*abu*) —*ibī* (from —*ibu*) and —*ubū* (from —*ubu*). Again, —*bī* is the ending for the loc. plur. of the *a*-stems, but the same becomes changed to —*bā* in agreement with the final vowel *a* of the stems. Jacobi quotes the following forms from the text where the plur.

termination has been used for the sing: loc. *chāyahā* 559, 1. *vasuabā samaggabā* 689, 3. *khandārahā* 768, 6. *sababā* 740, 9. 770, 3. Inst. *piyahā niyahā* 198, 1, 2, 210, 7. Inst. plur. *taḍilayahā* 511, 4. *dhūyahā*. This tendency for vowel assimilation is to be noted in the case of verbs too. The 1st pers. plur. indic. is usually —*ahū* but in the *Bhavisattakahā* it becomes —*abā*. Again, the 2nd pers. plur. is —*hu* both in the indic. and imper, but the same becomes changed to —*ha* in conformity with the vowel *a* that occurs immediately before the termination.⁸

It should be stated here that we have noted the occurrence of the assimilated genitive —*aba* in a large number of Ap. texts, e. g. *Jasaharacariu*, *Kumārapāla-pratibodha*, *Sāvayadhammadohā*, *Pāṇḍadobā*, *Saṁdeśa-rāsaka*, *Dobākoṣas* of *Kāhna* and *Saraha* and the *Prākṛta-paiṅgala*. In the *Prākṛta-paiṅgala*, again, the vowel assimilation is found in the terminational elements too, about which Jacobi has spoken so much, as stated in the preceding paragraph. In Ap. in the loc. sing. *a*— stems possess —*bi* as the termination besides the usual —*i* (suppressing the vowel of the stem). But the vowel —*i* of *bi* becomes transformed to *a*, as the final vowel of the stems ends in —*a*. In other words —*abi* becomes —*aba*, which is found in the word *paaba* of verses M. 138—142, M. 183 and *antaba* of V. 60. Sometimes, again, vowel assimilation is found also in the verbal forms. In the Mātrā verse 133 for the expression *bhañijjāi* the B and C manuscripts of the *Prākṛta-paiṅgala*⁹ read *bhañijjaa*, which clearly testifies to the occurrence of the phenomenon of vowel assimilation in the speech.

With the establishment of the occurrence of the phenomenon of vowel assimilation in late-Pkt. and Ap. a part of our proposition is substantiated. It behoves us now to show that same two short vowels placed consecutively verp often coalesce together and

8 See *Sanatkumāracaritam*: Grammatik § 2, b. page 2.

9 The Asiatic Society edition, prepared by C. M. Ghosh has been consulted (=abbr. pp). The letter M stands for Mātrāvṛtta and V. for Varna-vṛtta.

lead to the emergence of a long vowel. This tendency, it may be stated, is not a new phenomenon in Prākṛit, since Hemacandra, who appeared towards the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th centuries, took notice of this phenomenon in his Prākṛit grammar. Some of the instances, which he cites are: *supuruṣa* = *suuriso* = *sūriso*,¹⁰ *dviṭiya* = *biio* = *bīo*,¹¹ *karīṣyati* = *kāhii* = *kāhī*. Here one should notice that in the last word the vowels, which coalesce together and become transformed into a long vowel, belong to the terminations and are very similar in nature to the terminational —*ai* and —*ia* which Alsdorf mentions.

We like to point out that the tendency perhaps increased considerably towards the end of the MIA period. At least the *Prākṛta-paiṅgala* seems to give an indication to it, of course it is very risky to attach too much importance to the work, as the same is composed in a hybrid artificial speech and could not be a true representative of the actual spoken idiom the metrical interests overshadowing all other considerations. However, whatever value might be in the work, one cannot ignore it and leave it out of his ken. In the verse V. 66 there occurs the word *solā*, which corresponds to Skt. *ṣoḍaśa*. It underwent transformations like these: *ṣoḍaśa* = *solaba* = *solaa* (with the loss of the intervocalic *b*, a characteristic of NIA) = *solā*. Here when the intervocalic *b* disappears the consecutive *a* sounds combine together. It is a very conclusive evidence, which demonstrates that the combined vowels *aa* possess a strong tendency to merge together and appear as a long vowel; here the falling of a strong stress accent on the initial syllable might have accelerated this sort of vowel-coalescence, which in the present case is towards the end of the word.

We intend to quote a few examples more and point to the frequency of the phenomenon. One should note the words and also the stages of development, through which the words must

¹⁰ See Hemacandra: Prākṛit Grammar I. 8.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I. 5

have passed in course of their evolution: *jaggāi* (Skt. *jāgati*, 3rd pers. sing. pres. indic.) = *jaggāa* = *jaggā*¹² V. 52; *galā* (Skt. *gale* loc. sing.) *galabi*¹³ = *galaba* — *galaa* (loss of the intervocalic *b*) = *galā* V. 77; *bhuā* (Skt. *bhuje* loc. sing.) *bhuahi* = *bhuaba* = *bhuaa* (loss of the intervocalic *b*) = *bhuā* V. 76; *kaṇṇā* (Skt. *karnaiḥ* inst. plur.) *kaṇṇahi* = *kaṇṇaba* = *kaṇṇaa* = *kaṇṇā*; *baṇṇā* (Skt. *varṇaiḥ* inst. plur.) *baṇṇahi* = *baṇṇaba* = *baṇṇaa* = *baṇṇā* V. 10; *aggā* (Skt. *agre* loc. sing.) *aggahi* = *aggaba* = *aggaa* = *aggā* V. 175; *muggarā* (skt. *mudgaraiḥ* inst. plur.) *muggarahi* = *muggaraba* = *muggaraa* = *muggarā* V. 169; *dijjiā* (Skt. *diyate* pass. indic. 3rd pers. sing.) *dijjiāi* = *dijjiāa* = *dijjiā*; *kijjiā* (Skt. *kriyate* pass. indic. 3rd pers. sing.) *kijjiāi* = *kijjiāa* = *kijjiā* V. 162. The phenomenon of vowel assimilation and subsequent contraction are not restricted to the *a*-vowel only; we note the same when the assimilating vowel is other than *a*. An instance, where the vowel *i* becomes responsible for vocalic change in the following syllable and its later fusion with the same, is provided by the word *kahi*; *kahī* (Skt. *kathitam* past. part.) *kahia* = *kahii* = *kahī*. One should note mere contraction of consecutive *i* sounds in the following: *dharaṇī* (skt. *dharanyām* loc. sing.) *dharaṇihi* = *dharaṇii* (with the loss of intervocal *b*) = *dharaṇī* M. 180; *piṭṭhi* (Skt *piṣṭhe* loc. sing.) *piṭṭhihi* = *piṭṭhii* = *piṭṭhi* V. 175. One can quote any number of words from the *Prākṛta-paiṅgala*;

12 Forms of this type, which show a long vowel in the final syllable of the word, are copious and they do not ordinarily show variants.

13 Here one might be in confusion as to of two phonetic processes—namely vowel assimilation and loss of intervocal *b* which one is earlier. In other words of the two courses of phonetic transformation namely—(1) *galabi* = *galaba* = *galaa* = *galā* and (2) *galabi* = *galaī* = *galaa* = *galā* which one is correct. We are in favour of the first, because vowel assimilation has its beginning in a very early period, but the loss of the intervocal *b* is in fact a peculiarity of Modern Aryan languages sporadically appearing in Ap— or late—Ap speeches. It is further evidenced by the loc. sing forms with *—ba*, which develops from the termination *—bi* as a result of assimilation and about whose occurrence in the PP, we have already discussed above. So the assimilation of vowel should come first and subsequently the loss of the intervocal *b*.

but these are quite adequate to indicate that same two consecutive short vowels had a strong inclination to coalesce together and be transformed into a long vowel particularly towards the end of words.

Now, on the support of above evidences it is possible for us to refute Alsdorf's proposition that Ap. terminational elements masc. —*ai* and fem. —*ia* would drop their final vowels *u* and *a* respectively and lengthen their respective preceding vowels i.e. *a* and *i* characterised by the retention of a strong accent—a theory which he is emboldened to construct on the suggestion of Grierson. But, as shown above, there are certain difficulties which debar one from giving unstinted support to it. As we have fully demonstrated with all possible evidences the development of masc. —*ai* and fem. —*ia* to —*ā* and —*ī* respectively in the same very speech would better be explained by the assumption of the working of the phonetic laws vowel assimilation and contraction in the contact vowels, which play no mean role in the transformation of words—particularly in the late-MIA period. The emergence of a heavy stress accent in the initial syllable, it may be presumed, might have accelerated these processes.

S. N. GHOSAL

APPENDIX

English translation of the footnotes in German

Fd. 1 Trans: In Ap. the mere stem can be used as the nom. acc. gen. sing. and plur.

The final vowel can be lengthened or shortened in Ap. according to metre and rhyme.)

The view of optional lengthening and shortening of the final vowels in Ap. is in fact an error, which is fundamental and fatal for the understanding of the speech. Besides the common erroneous conception about the irregularity and strange development in Ap. one can hold responsible for it Hem's rule IV 330: In Ap. the final vowel of a noun in Nom. etc is usually long and short, i. e. the final vowel can be lengthened or shortened. It deserves notice that the last statement "that is,....." does not come from Hemacandra but from Pischel.

Hem's rule, though abstracted from real speech, is imaginably misunderstood and historically entirely misleading.

Fn. 3 Trans: I believe to have shown at HP. § 25.42 that in all these cases one does not find the old and inherited Pkt. long sounds but the three forms together belong to the extended paradigm [through *Ka svārtbe*]
 —go back evidently to the strong forms of the New-Indo-Aryan speeches—and that *ā* in both cases develops from contraction of *—aya*.

Fn. 7 Trans: In the Jaina-pkt there frequently occurs a word *sanappbaya*=*sanakhpada*; the intermediate stage, as the assimilation of both the consonants shows, *sanakhpada*, [The Skt.—word according to our estimate is accented on a syllable fourth from the last: the vowel of the syllable third from the last being post-accentual is weakened and [finally] elided.

The Place of Tulu in the Dravidian Family of Languages

India, south of the Vindhya, could be described as nature's laboratory where her first experiments in human culture were conducted. It was this Dakṣiṇāpatha, again, from which place various colonisers went out to the lands known as Greater India and reproduced our cultures in Indonesia, Singapore, Siam, Java and other places. It could be easily described as an anthropological museum producing similar cultures but almost independently of each other. It was this South, again, that was the birthplace of the three great religious Ācāryas: Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Madhva and has become today the conservative stronghold of Brahminical orthodoxy. Here though the Aryan culture of the North fused into the Dravidian culture of the South in the historic period, the pure indigenous Dravidian culture persisted and projects its head even today in, for example, the social degradation of the lowest untouchables. Even in this Southern region, the two districts of Malabar and South Kanara might be singled out as possessing antiquities and curiosities in almost all branches of human activities. To mention a few, the Nāga cult along with its peculiar dances Dhakke Bali and Nāgamaṇḍala performed by a sect known as 'Vaidyars', the ghost cult with its 'Kōla' dance in which certain untouchables called Pāṇār specialise, country dances and dramas called yakṣa-gāna in South Kanara and the Chākkīar dances of Malabar are some of the curious relics of ancient times which deserve to be carefully studied by the anthropologists.

The editors of the famous Dravidian grammar of Dr. Caldwell (republished by the University of Madras in 1956) quote with approval Prof. Max Müller's remarks written in 1847 about Dravidian culture maintaining its individuality even as against the Aryan which it almost conquered: wholly different from the manner in which the Brahminical people overcame the North of India, was the way they adopted of taking possession

of and settling in the country south of the Vindhya. They did not enter there in crushing masses with the destroying force of arms, but in the more peaceful way of extensive colonisation under the protection and countenance of the powerful empires of the North. Though sometimes engaged in wars with their neighbouring tribes these colonies generally have not taken an offensive but only a defensive part and it appears that after having introduced Brahminical institutions, laws and religion, especially along the coasts of the sea, they did not pretend to impose their language upon the much more numerous inhabitants of the Dekkan, but that they followed the wise policy of adjusting themselves to the language of the aboriginal people and of conveying through its medium their knowledge and instruction to the minds of the uncivilised tribes. In this way, they refined the rude language of the earlier inhabitants and brought it to a perfection which rivals even the Sanskrit. By these mutual concessions, a much more favourable assimilation took place between the Aryan and the aboriginal race; and the South of India became the last refuge of Brahminical science, while it was banished from the North by the intolerant Mahomedans. It is interesting and important to observe how the beneficial influence of a higher civilisation may be effectively exercised, without forcing the people to give up their own language and to adopt that of their foreign conquerors, a result by which, if successful, every vital principle of an independent and natural development is necessarily destroyed.'

To come back to our subject, the 'Vaidyar' community which specialises in the dances called Dhakke Bali and Nāgamaṇḍala, the untouchable Pāṇār community with their peculiar songs called Pāḍḍanas, these and many other village folk have composed songs in the peculiar dialect of the South Kanara district called Tulu. The district itself is inhabited by persons speaking nearly half a dozen languages, Kannāḍa (in its many dialects of Haiga, Koḍagu, Kōṭa (not the Kota of Caldwell p. 34) etc. Tulu (in its two dialects), Konkani, Marāṭhi, Malayālam and so on. As regards Tulu,

Dr. Caldwell, the famous Dravidian philologist and Bishop of Tinnevely who wrote as long ago as 1856, listed it among the *cultivated* Dravidian dialects. He praised it as a 'peculiar and very interesting language, though he conceded that its claim to be ranked among the cultivated members of the family may be open to question, only because of its lack of literature or independent characters. The Basel Missionaries in Mangalore have recently adopted the Sūdra dialect of this language and even printed, in Kannada characters, of course, their translations of the Bible and similar other Christian literature. Caldwell handsomely concedes "Notwithstanding its want of a literature, it is one of the most highly developed languages of the Dravidian family. It looks as if it had been cultivated for its own sake and it is well worthy of a careful study". Though the tongue is spoken only in that part of South Kanara bounded on the north by the Kailianpuri river (about 4 miles north of Uḍupi town where Madhva established the famous temple of Sri Krishna with the eight Mutts surrounding it) and on the south by the Candragiri river and as such only in parts of Uḍupi, Mangalore, Puttur, Uppinangady, Kāsargode and Kārkaḷa taluks, their number (presumably according to the first regular census of 1872 as referred to by Caldwell) was well over half a million. (5,31,498 to be exact). Obviously their number should have more than doubled itself in the hundred and ten years that have elapsed. As they are surrounded by people speaking Kannada (and other languages also) and as the court language or bazaar language is also Kannada, some people suspected that this language might even disappear, but Caldwell pronounces his opinion against this and he praises these people as the most conservative section of the Dravidian race. That learned savant also quotes Rev. Brigel (who wrote a grammar of Tulu in 1872 and a Tulu English Dictionary in 1888) according to whom the name of the language means mild, meek and humble. He also mentions that the first book printed in Tulu was the gospel of St. Mathew in 1842, followed by the New Testament in 1859.

Among the Brahmins in the South Kanara District in the locality bounded by the rivers just referred to, there are certain Brahmins who are called Ballāḷas who are Mādhvas, there are also certain Jaina Ballāḷas who form the aristocratic section of the villagers; peculiarly in Madras, certain non-Brahmins call themselves Tuḷuva Vellāḷas. Why these last refer to themselves by the peculiar name deserves further investigation: obviously the labial ba in Kannaḍa and Tuḷu becomes a semi-vowel 'va' in Tamil and thus philologically the two names are identical. Dr. Caldwell hazards the supposition that some of the Tuḷu speaking people who migrated to the Tamil coutry (perhaps for political or economic reasons) were too small in their number to assert themselves or to produce any marked change in the habits of their neighbours. But history records that some of them were adventurous and a Tuḷuva dynasty ruled over Vijayanagara also for some time. This apart, it is openly conceded by the foreign missionaries who have settled among them and even learnt their language, that this language has the reputation of puzzling strangers by the peculiarities of its pronunciation which must be learnt from the speakers alone.

It was only by a careful study of the Tuḷu language and culture that Dr. Caldwell could remark: "Another evidence of the antiquity and purity of Tamil consists in the agreement of the ancient Kanarese, the ancient Malayālam, the Tuḷu and also the Toḍa, Gond and Ku with Tamil in many of the particulars in which modern Kanarese and modern Telugu differ from it" (p.82). Similarly in p.526, the same scholar remarks: "In Tuḷu, there are two forms of the conditional, one called by Mr. Brigel the conditional and the other the subjunctive; the conditional is a compound tense formed by appending u, the sign of the future present, to the perfect participle. Compare Malt 'dē, = I have made, Malt 'dvē, = I should make. There is a negative conditional in Tuḷu, as there is a negative form of every part of the verb and this negative conditional appears to be formed by inserting as a particle of negation e.g. Malt 'dvayē (malt'd-v-a-yē) = I should not have made. "In this context it is

interesting to note that a slight change in the accent on the vowel *e* will change the first person of the verb into the third person, a peculiarity which is not perhaps found anywhere else as *pōpè*—he goes, but *pōpē*—I go. Another noteworthy feature is the subjunctive form *pové*—he may go, but *povē*—I may go. The negative form of this sentence is also easily formed by adding a (as Dr. Caldwell has already noted)—‘*povaye*’—he may not go, *povayē*—I may not go. Such slight shades of meaning result from significant changes in the intonation which baffle foreigners and must be learnt only from the speakers of the language in the district itself.

To quote again from Dr. Caldwell, the letter *n* not the dental *n*, but the final *n* of Tamil, a letter which is not found in Telugu, is often prefixed in Tamil to the rough *r* for the sake of euphony, when the compound *nr* acquires the sound of *ndr* a sound of which the Tamil, like the language of Madagascar, is exceedingly fond. In Tulu, this sound is further softened to *nj* e.g. Kanrue Tamil a calf is in Tulu *Kañji* (p.145). This only proves the truth of Brigel’s definition of the word Tulu as mild. On p. 156 Dr. Caldwell refers to Tulu (*pudar* or name becoming in ancient Kanarese *pesar*, in classical Tamil *peyar*, to finally become in modern Tamil *pēr* with the loss of the middle consonant. The same savant remarks on p.158 “sometimes changes into *d* in Kanarese and Tulu e.g. *dāva*, *kannada* who? which or what? alternates with *yāva*, *dāvadu*, what thing (in Madras Kannada) alternates with *yāvadu* (in Mysore and elsewhere). This latter is *dādavu* in Tulu.” In this context we might mention that there are two dialects of Tulu, one spoken by the Brahmins and the other by the rustic villagers. Dr. Caldwell does not seem to notice this fact as he was conversant only with the latter Tulu, which was accepted and even made their own by the Basel missionaries at Mangalore. This ‘*dādavu*’ what thing? is *jādavu* in the Brahmin dialect. In other words, as in prakrit languages *y* and *j* interchange e.g. Bengal *jātrā* is Sanskrit *yātrā*. Perhaps the remark of some that Tulu as a language was tending to disappear, as quoted by Dr. Caldwell

is due to the fact that the Brahmins migrating from the district have been rather indifferent to their mother-tongue, even to the extent of forgetting it. It must, however, be confessed to the credit of the rustic folk, who form the bulk—perhaps more than 70%—of the speakers of this dialect, that they have been more faithful to the language and have clung tenaciously to it, almost through thick and thin.

Another peculiarity of Tulu, which also the learned Bishop has noted, is the change of l into r. His comment here is noteworthy. Whilst the ordinary change is that of r into l, the change of l into r is occasionally met with and forms one of peculiarities of Tulu e.g. vil, Tamil, a bow (billu, Kan.) becomes in Tulu bir" (p.150). The same writer on p. 176 notices another peculiarity thus "In Tulu, an older v seems to have changed into m and even into mb. Thus mol, Tulu: she (prox) stands for imbaḷ and that for ivaḷ: mēr, they (prox) for imar and that for ivar whilst the singular masc of the same is imbe for ivan. Compare the Tulu remote singular masc, āye, he. The evidence of all other dialects in favour of v being originally the euphonic vowel of the pronouns is so strong that the Tulu m must, I think, be regarded as a corruption". Another peculiarity of Tulu noted by him is more interesting (p.179). In Tulu n is sometimes used to prevent hiatus. When the personal pronouns beginning with a vowel are suffixed to participles for the purpose of forming participial nouns, n is euphonicly inserted where v would originally be inserted in Tamil and Canarese, e.g. malpu·n· āye, one who makes. Tamil agrees with Tulu in thus inserting n after past participles with ending n i. e.g. compare panni-(n)-avan, Tamil, who made, with batti-n-aaye, Tulu, he who came. Sometimes this euphonic n is inserted in Tulu where y would be inserted in Tamil. e.g. dhore-(n)-ākuḷu, Tulu gentlemen, Tamil durai-(y)-avargal (plural used honorifically for singular.) In amma-(n)-ākuḷu, Tulu, mistresses, Tamil would run the vowels together. When the adverbial particle 'age' is added to the root of a verb, to denote the time at which an

action is to take place *n* is inserted between the concurrent vowel, e.g. Malpu-(*n*)-aga when making. The emphatic particle *ē* becomes in Tulu not only *ye* or *ve* according to the nature of the vowel as in Tamil but also *ne* after *a* and sometimes *e*, e.g. *āye·n·ē* himself. *n* is inserted in like manner before *ā* and *ō*, the interrogative particles, where *v* would be inserted in Tamil, as also before *e* when used interrogatively.—Calwell does not supply the instance here, but we could note it as *āye-(n)-ā*?—Is it he?

Dr. Caldwell similarly mentions glossorial and other affinities between Tulu and these languages. Sufficient has been quoted from impartial foreigners that the language is highly cultivated to be ranked with its sisters Tamil, Telugu and Kannada with which languages its affiliations are very close and intimate. The lack of an independent script might have stood in the way of an independent literature but now since the printing of missionary Biblical tracts in Mangalore, it is up to the speakers to produce high quality literature also. An attempt was already made in this direction by the late Mr. S. U. Paniadi (a famous Congress worker who was jailed with C. R. and others) who published in about 1929 a Tulu grammar and translated the drama of *Sakuntalā* into Tulu. Some others also followed in his footsteps but these laudable attempts have almost frittered away like those of the village Hampden in Gray's Elegy.

U. VENKATAKRISHNA RAO

An Unpublished Copper Plate Grant of V.S. 1165 from Rajasthan

The Jalor Stone Inscription of V.S. 1174 (25th June, 1118 A.D.) and now preserved in Sardar Museum at Jodhpur refers to Melaradevī as the queen of Visala—the Paramāra ruler of Jalore (ancient Jābālipura).¹ Names of his predecessors and forefathers have also been alluded to in the following order:—

Vākpatirāja

|
Candana

|
Devarāja

|
Aparājita

|
Vijjala

|
Dhārāvārṣa

|
Visala (V.S. 1174)

This inscription of V.S. 1174 runs as follows²:—

- Line 1. ॐ जेतुं विश्वामित्रं वसिष्ठमुनिनातिकोपपूर्णं
 „ 2. परमारणाय जनित [:] कुंडे तेनैव परमार [:]
 „ 3. आसीद्वाक्पतिराज नाम-वृषतिः श्रीपारमारा [न्वये]
 „ 4. तत्पुत्रोजनि चन्दना (नो) वनिपतिः तन्नन्दनो देव [राट्]
 „ 5. तत्पुत्रस्त्वपराजित [:] समभवत्प्रौढ प्रताप [: स्वयं]
 „ 6. पुत्रोभूदपराजितस्य विजयी श्रीविज्जलो भूपतिः
 „ 7. सेनानीरिव शंभोः प्रद्युम्न इवाथवा हरे [न्नूनं]
 „ 8. दत्ते (क्षो) वाम्बुज सूतेर्धारावर्षो नराधिपतिः
 „ 9. धारावर्षस्य पुत्रो जातो वीसल भूपतिः

¹ PRASWC., 1908-9, p. 54; *Ind. Ant.*, LXII, p. 41; H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of N. India*, II, 1936, Calcutta, pp. 924-25; D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, 1933, Dacca, pp. 343-344; G. H. Ojha, *History of Jodhpur State*, Hindi, I, 1938, p. 54.

² B. N. Reu, *Glories of Mārwar and Glorious Rathors*, Jodhpur, 1943, pp. 209-210 and *Adm. Report of Jodhpur Museum*, 1931, p. 9.

Line 10. येन भूयंडलीकानां धर्ममागर्गेत दर्शितः

,, 11. राज्ञया मेलरदेव्या तु पलया वीसलभूपते:

,, 12. सौवर्ण कलसं मूर्द्धि सिंधुराजेश्वरेत (क) तं

,, 13. [खं] वत् ११७४ आषाढ सुदि ५ भौमे

There is absolutely no information about the sons and successors³ of this Visala of the Jalore Branch of the Paramāra rulers. In fact this was the solitary epigraphic record of this dynasty at the present moment. It was a few years ago that I studied a few blurred but unpublished estampages of a copper-plate grant issued from Jābālipura, during the governorship of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Vijayarāja*,⁴ on Thursday⁵ the 15th day of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha in V.S. 1165, corresponding to *Caitrādi* V.S. 1166 i.e. Friday, the 16th April, 1109 A.D. (L.D.S. Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, III, 1922, Madras, p. 220) as cited in lines 8-9 of the first plate. This grant consists of two rectangular copper plates, each measuring about 10 inches × about 9 inches; containing two holes in each plate, 19 lines in the first plate and 17 lines in the second, thus consisting of 36 lines in all. The script is *Devanāgarī* of the 12th century A.D. and the language is *Sanskrit*;⁶ letters being not at all beautifully engraved. Still more, whereabouts of the plates having been shrouded in oblivion and the existing estampage being in an unsatisfactory condition, it is not possible to present the correct text in toto. The importance of this record is all the more enhanced as it refers to Visala as the contemporary Paramāra ruler of Jalore in V.S. 1165 (lines 7-8) and duly confirms the genealogical details furnished by the Jalor

3 Kuntapāla, the Paramāra ruler of Jalore, according to Naiṇasi, was probably a descendant of this Visala [Dasharath Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, 1959, Delhi, p. 145].

4 Different from king Vijayarāja, the Paramāra ruler of Vāgaḍa as cited in Arthūṇā Inscriptions of V. S. 1165-66 (Ganguly, *op. cit.*, p. 342).

5 It was Friday according to calculations in Christian Era.

6 Including some incorrect words also such as *Deyarāḥ* instead of *Devarāja*.....etc.

162 *An Unpublished Copper Plate Grant of V.S. 1165*

Inscription of V.S. 1174 cited above. *The reign-period of this Visala thus covers a span of about 10 years V.S. (1165 to 1174) at the present moment.*

After having paid homage to Lord Śiva (i.e. *Pinākin* in lines 1-2), the existing copper plate refers to the Paramāra rulers in a chronological order such as *Vākpatirāja*, his son *Candana*, his son *Deyarāḥ* (i.e. *Devarāja*), his son *Aparājita*, his son *Vijala*, his son *Dhārāvārṣa*, and his son *Visaladhara* (i.e. *Viśalā*). Here *Vākpati* bears the epithet of *Vriddha* as the ruler of *Sīharā Maṇḍala*, probably bearing some affinity with *Sīharā*.⁷ of the *Dvyāśraya Mahākāvya*. He has been tentatively regarded as *Vākpatirāja*, the Paramāra ruler of the Arbuda (i.e. *Ābu*) region.⁸ If that be so, his son *Candana* and the latter's successors might have been entrusted with the task of administering Jalore region, with their capital at Jalore. *Viśalā*'s father, *Dhārāvārṣa*, is said to have been a veteran warrior and his glory could well be compared with *Indra*, the lord of the gods (lines 5-7). We further learn that the capital seat (i.e. *Jābālipura*) was under the administrative control of a noble of high rank of a *Mabā-maṇḍaleśvara*. His name was *Vijayarāja*. It was on the *Vaiśākha Parvva* of *saṃvat* 1165 that the village of *Kāsaghā*, along with all the trees and creepers of its surroundings, was donated in favour of a Brahmin named *Samdhīraṇa* who was of the *Sāṇḍilya gotra* and sometime a resident of *Śrīmāla* (modern *Bhīnmāl*, near Jalore, lines 14-15). The boundaries⁹ of this village have been cited in lines 16 to 19, other details having been enumerated subsequently, in the second plate.¹⁰ The main

7 i.e. 'Sera', a village situated 8 miles N. E. of *Dilwārā*, Mt. *Ābu*; cf. D. C. Ganguly, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

8 As suggested by G. H. Ojha and Ganguly (p. 64) but quite tentatively. H. C. Ray considers *Vākpatirāja* as a scion of the *Mālwa* branch (*op. cit.*, pp. 924-925).

9 The details are not clear in the blurred estampage under scrutiny.

10 This document was probably written by a brahmin named *Mabā-dhara* (line 34 in second plate).

The inscription requires careful scrutiny by epigraphists and scholars

purport of this particular grant, in favour of a Brahmin, was to add to the bliss and fame of his parents and his ownself as he had a belief in the result of actions in this world and also hereafter (lines 12-13). A royal proclamation, to this effect, was duly made and brought to the notice of all the persons in State service, all prominent members of the society, Janapadas..... etc., (lines 9-11) in a traditional manner. This inscription, of V.S. 1165, thus has got an important bearing on the political, religious and administrative conditions of Jalore in 1109 A.D.

The existing copper-plate grant is of great historical importance. It pushes the period of Visala's regime over Jalore back to V. S. 1165. Besides this, reference to Vākpatirāja's sway over *Sihara*¹¹ *Maṇḍala* (line 2) seems to confirm the literary evidence regarding his conquest of Mārṇār (i.e., *Maru-maṇḍala*). It is hoped that scholars will throw more light on the proper identification of *Sihara Maṇḍala* of this grant.¹²

The legible portion of the text of the first plate, on the basis of the scrutiny of a solitary blurred¹³ estampage, may be presented as follows:—

Line 1. पातु वः.....पिनाकिनः । स्वस्ति.....पि—

Line 2. नाकिनः । वृद्धवाकपतिराज नाम वृपतिर्या (यो) सीहरामंडले ।
तत्पुत्रो जा—

Line 3. तो चंदनो । महिपस्तनंदनो देयराः तत्सुधापराजितः
समभवत्.....

Line 4.....तापसमः तस्मात् परमारवंशविशदः । श्रीविजलोभूपतिः ।

alike. The whereabouts of the plates are of course in utter oblivion at the present moment.

¹¹ It is very clear.

¹² For literary references consult Ganguly, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.

¹³ The estampage of the second plate of this grant is too blurred to be deciphered. This portion ends with the phrase श्री विजराजस्य, thus referring to Vijayarāja, the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* of Jābālipure in V. S. 1165—cited in line 9 of first plate.

- Line 5.....ह पार्थिवः समभवत्सधीरो विद्याधरः । ध्यातो राज्यधुरंधरो
Line 6.....धवलकीर्त्यमरेशोपमः । धारावर्षवृषः सदा रणमुखो ।
यो वाग.....
Line 7.....तत्पुत्रास्ति
Line 8. विसलधर । संवत् ११६५ वैशाख शुदि १५ गुरौ अयेह
श्रीजाबालिपुरे
Line 9. (महा)¹⁴ मंडलेश्वर श्रीविजयराराजसुभुज्यमानं (माने)
श्रीजाबालिपुरादि समस्त
Line 10.....हि.....मंडल.....समस्तराजपुरुषान् ब्राह्मण क्षत्र.....
Line 11.....जनपदांश्च । संवोधयत्यस्तु वो संविदितं यथा अय वैशा
Line 12. खपर्वणि संसारस्यासारतां विचिंत्य एहिक पारलिक फलं मं (गी) कृ
Line 13. (ल) मातापित्रोरात्मनः पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये । ब्रा०
संधीरणाय वै—
Line 14.....सुताय श्रीSमा¹⁵लास्थानविनिगतायसांडि (शाखिड) ल्य गोताय...
Line 15.....वेदशाखिनो कासघा¹⁶ ग्रामं ससीमापर्यंतं । सट्टि (वृ)
क्षमालाकुलं ।
Line 16.....भोगं । पूर्वप्रदत्त देवदाय ब्रह्म.....
Line 17.....नो दक्षपूर्व...भिः प्रदत्तं.....ग्राम.....
Line 18.....डिया क्षेत्रेः सीमा.....
Line 19.....न ।.....

[Here ends the first plate]

R. C. AGRAWALA

14 Estampage is blurred but the traces of महा appear to have been on the plate.

15 i.e., श्री श्रीमाल= Bhīmāl, near Jalor.

16 It needs to be located somewhere in Jalore region.

The Garuḍas

Who were the Garuḍas ? There are a number of references in Sanskrit and other texts to Garuḍas as a group or to Garuḍa as an individual—the famous bird-vehicle of Viṣṇu. The Garuḍas (or Garuḍa) often come in the context of the Nāgas as their traditional enemies. Writing about the Nāgas, Oldham states that the Garuḍas were a tribe by itself, quite distinct from the Nāgas and that these tribes were in constant antagonism. In the Epic we have references to these two tribes abiding in the same place, i.e., *Pātāla*.¹ From this Oldham opines that, "These tribes too who were neighbours, were unrelenting enemies."² He thinks that both Garuḍas and the Nāgas came to India from another country and were engaged in constant fight with the aboriginal races here. He also believes that the Garuḍas and the Nāgas were two different *totemestic* tribes. Oldham's point of the Garuḍas and the Nāgas being Totemistic tribes has been criticised by Kennedy³ who rightly points out that the bird Garuḍa and the serpent is not worshipped by *any particular sects*.

That the Garuḍa (or Garuḍas) and the Nāgas are said to be in constant strife can be seen from several passages in the texts, and we may refer here only to a very few. Garuḍa is said to devour the nāgas (cf. 'Pannagāsana' Mb. V. 112-5. 'Pannaga-bhojana' Mb. I, 16-24). The serpents are destined to be the food of Garuḍa.⁴ In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, we have Garuḍa

1 Cf. M. B. (Mahābhārata) V. 101; also see Jātaka Tales, H. T. Francis and E. G. Thomas (Jaico., Bombay, 1953) p. 153, where the Garuḍa-king is said to have his abode in the island of the Nāgas; also 'Sussandī Jātaka'—*Jātaka*, vol. III. p. 187 Rhys Devis).

2 Oldham 'Serpent worship in India' *JRAS.* (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society) 1891, p. 361. ff.

3 See Kennedy's letter in *JRAS.*, 1891, p. 480-481.

4 Mb., I. 16-25; Cf. also I. 34-13; XIV. 30-6; also *Skanda Purāṇa* IV. 50-63. *Suparṇādhyaḥ XIV. 30-7* (in Jarl Charpentier's 'Die Supernasage'. Uppsala 1920).

coming to the rescue of Rāma when the latter is pierced by the 'serpent-arrows' of Rāvaṇa.⁵ The famous story of Jimūtavāhana also speaks of Garuḍa killing and swallowing a nāga daily.⁶ Vogel quotes a story from the Ceylonese chronicle 'Mahāvamsā' where Saṅghamitrā carrying the branch of the 'Bodhi' tree, is said to have assumed the form of Garuḍa and terrified the nāgas.⁷ The traditional belief in the animosity between the nāgas and Garuḍa is quite common. The Hindu festival 'Nāgapañcamī' is supposed to be an anniversary of the deadly fight between Garuḍa and the nāgas and on this day the image of Garuḍa at 'Cangu-nārāyaṇa' is reported to perspire regularly.⁸

We have ample references to the tribes of Garuḍas living alongside with the nāgas. In the Jātakas also we have several references to the same effect as we shall presently see. Looking to these references we, like Oldham and Vogel, might be led to think that these two 'tribes' were constantly fighting with one another. These 'tribes' not only fight between themselves, but are also said to have been re-united. There is always said to be a 'Reconciliation'. A few examples will make this point clear. Thus, in the 'Uragajātaka', we have a story in which a holy hermit, in a truly Buddhist spirit brings about a reconciliation between a nāga and a *Suparṇa*. (Garuḍa). A captured nāga looks at the crowd of by-standers to see if any Garuḍa is there.⁹ According to a story in the Pindar Jātaka a *nāga-King* and a *Garuḍa-King* are in constant rivalry. These kings come to meet a naked mendicant who is ship-wrecked. The Garuḍa-king asks the mendicant about a method to catch the nāga-king. On learning about the method, the Garuḍa-king catches the nāga-king, *but having pity on the latter leaves him*.¹⁰ In the

5 *Rāmāyaṇa*, V. 153-11 (Mylapore Edi. 1958).

6 Cf. *Kathāsāritsāgara*, XII. 181-201; also Tawney's Tr. vol. I. p. 182 ff. also 'Nāgānanda' the famous drama of Harṣa.

7 Cf. J. Ph. Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore* London 1926.

8 Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 278; also Crook, *Popular Religion and Folk-lore in Northern India*, vol. II. (1896) p. 122.

10 Cf. *Jātaka*, vol. V. p. 79 ff.

Uraga Jātaka again we have an account of a Garuḍa (Suparṇa) giving chase to a nāga who takes refuge in the garment of a recluse taking bath in the river and the recluse then brings about reconciliation between the two.¹¹ All these accounts are found not only in the Jātakas, but also in the Mb. From the accounts in the Jātakas we have referred to, it might appear that the Garuḍas and the Nāgas were two 'tribes' and also that there was reconciliation in their strife. This reconciliation was brought about by some one who was already a Buddhist monk or Bodhisatta himself. Now we come to some other references in the ancient Sanskrit texts. The Mb. refers to the sons of Garuḍa among whom Sumukha is one.¹² We also have Sumukha as the name of a Nāga.¹³ This nāga was to be eaten by Garuḍa; but Indra and Upendra (Viṣṇu) gave shelter to the former much to the wrath of Garuḍa who was previously favoured with a boon by Indra himself, according to which Garuḍa could eat the snakes at will.¹⁴ Now follows an argument between Garuḍa on the one hand and Indra and Upendra on the other. Indra pacifies Garuḍa and *ultimately Sumukha the serpent and Garuḍa are reconciled*. As a token of their reconciliation Indra throws the serpent Sumukha on the breast of Garuḍa where he thenceforth is said to abide.¹⁵ This account clearly reminds us of the Buddhist tales where we have the same idea of *Strife leading to Reconciliation* in the case of a Garuḍa and the nāgas. The act of reconciliation is accomplished here by Indra and Viṣṇu who fit well in the position of the Recluse or Bodhisatta in such tales from the Jātakas. We read of Garuḍa and the nāgas as jealous of one another and that Garuḍa was yet given as a helpmate to Ananta—the serpent—who went under the earth

11 Cf. Jātaka, vol. II. p. 12 ff.

12 Mb., V. 101.

13 Ibid., 105.

14 For this see Mb. I. 35 ff. also 'suparṇādhya'ya'.

15 Mb., V. 105-31. 'Padānguṣṭhena cikṣepa Sumukham Garuḍorasi/
tatah prabhṛti Rājendra Saha Sarpeṇa Yārdhate//

to support it.¹⁶ This is very much like Garuḍa being always accompanied by Sumukha; but here we have 'Brahmā' performing the act of *reconciliation*.

It will be interesting to note this motif of reconciliation in some of the statues of Garuḍa and the nāgas. In many of such statues nāgas are depicted in human form.¹⁷ It is not *always* that Garuḍa is depicted as devouring or killing the nāgas (serpents) in such statues. Sculptures from Kamboja show that, in certain cases '*the nāga being devoured by Garuḍa*' is set aside as a pet theme, giving place to the representation of *Garuḍa and the nāgas connected in one piece*. Thus in the structure of Bayon, Garuḍa appears for all times as attached to the nāgas.¹⁸ In a beautifully illustrated article Jean Boisselier gives a number of plates of Garuḍa and the nāga motif and finally opines that at the time of the Buddhistic expansion there was a tendency to assume the existence of two types of nāgas—one good and the other bad or hostile; that Garuḍa is represented both as *the protector of the nāgas and the destroyer of them*, good or bad as they might be.¹⁹ This point is supported by figures of *nāgas having Garuḍa-figures in their crests*²⁰ as represented in the Balustrad style. In sculptures of the same style (i. e. Balustrad) among the nāgas of the lower railings are 'two-headed' nāgas the first nāga of which has his neck enclosed with Garuḍa. This²¹ corresponds to the description in the 'Sumukha-Garuḍa' episode, with the difference that there we have Sumukha attached to the

16 *Ibid.*, I. 67-25. 'Suparṇaṃ ca sahāyaṃ vai bhagavān amarottamah/ prādad anantāya tadā Vainateyaṃ pitāmahah/ /

17 For such statues, see Vogel 'Indian Serpent Lore' p. 172. (Gandhara style); also article referred to in note (18).

18 See 'Garuḍa dans L' Art Khmer' illustrated article by Jean Boisselier Tome XXXVV. (Hanoi 1951) p. 56 ff. in 'Bulletin d l'École Française'.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 70.

20 *Ibid.*, Plates XXX and XXXI in which the upper half of the hood of the nāgas show Garuḍa in the centre.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 69.

chest of Garuḍa, while in these sculptures we have Garuḍa enclosing the neck of the nāgas. What is remarkable is the close association of Garuḍa and the serpents devoid of their traditionally believed antagonism; and this close association is only another form of that *Reconciliation* in strife we have already referred to. Thomas (Epics, Myths and Legends of India) records a statue from Sanghas wherein is seen a huge Garuḍa with a smiling Nāgī (Female nāga) in human form (Plate LI. opp. page, 70). From what has been stated above, we now can lay down the following points:

- i. Garuḍa(s) and the Nāgas were very closely related to one another.
- ii. Both were human beings.
- iii. They were frequently reconciled to one another even though depicted as being hostile to one another.
- iv. This act of reconciliation was utilised both by the Hindus and the Buddhists in their scriptures at various times.

Now the peculiar way in which the nāgas and the Garuḍas are seen to be antagonistic to one another and again get reconciled cannot be disposed off as merely an accident. Though scholars like Oldham and Vogel have completely missed the point of reconciliation. We have seen from textual as well as archaeological references how it seems to be, traditionally, as important in the Garuḍa-nāga relations as their traditional enmity. The close association marked with the principle of *Reconciliation in strife* leads us to examine the tribal organizations wherein this principle appears to be one of the fundamentals. Such tribal organizations are divided into 'Phratries' which are always represented as fighting but coming together at the times of tribal functions. There are mainly two broad divisions (which are phratries) and these two make the whole tribe. These two phratries are not two different tribes as such, but are only two factions (or sects) of the same tribe, representing a *duality in unity*. The

relation between these two phratry is generally represented as that between two such parts which always suggest a complete whole. Thus they are supposed to be inseparable, though apparently separated.²² The Brāhmaṇa literature of the Āryas is replete with such instances. The 'Suras' and the 'Asuras' is such a dual. They fight with each other and again come together and even resort to dodges to outwit each other. Both are sons of Prajāpati.²³ Another interesting dual is Indra and Vṛtra which also reflects the same principle—Vṛtra is said to be Indra's food and is identified with 'Soma'. Now Vṛtra and Indra both have Tvaṣṭṛ as their father. It is Tvaṣṭṛ who caused Vṛtra to be born from an oblation of Soma into the sacrificial fire.²⁴ The idea in Indra eating Vṛtra (his own brother turned enemy) is very similar to that of Garuḍa eating the serpents. (Both, as we have already noted, are very closely associated). That Garuḍa and the serpents (nāgas) are step-brothers born of the same father Kaśyapa is well known.²⁵ Thus uniting in the very stem, they only are apparent enemies. Not only this, but the mothers of these two i. e. Vinatā and Kadrū are said to be sisters, thus coming from the same source.²⁶ They are again said to be only another form of the Earth and the Heaven, thus symbolizing the principle of duality in unity

22 For Phratry-relationship see Held 'The Mahābhārata' (London, 1935) p. 122 also p. 172.

23 Cf. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, I. 4-135; I. 2-2-6; *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa*, I. 97; 99, etc. etc.

Cf. also the famous episode of the 'Churning of the ocean'.

24 Cf. *Satapatha Br.*, I. 6-3-8; II. 6-1-5 ff. *Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā*, II. 4-3 Mb. XIV. II. 8ff. Also Hopkins 'Epic Mythology' p. 129.

For Vṛtra=Soma, see *Satapatha Br.* IV. 1-3-11; 9-4-2; I. 6-3-1 *Jaiminiya Br.*, II. 155 etc. etc.

25 It is to be recalled to memory that Garuḍa was the son of Vinatā and the serpents that of Kadrū. Both were wives of Kaśyapa (or Tārksya). Cf. Mb., I. 24. etc. etc.

26 Cf. *Suparṇādhyaḥya*, I. 2-1, (Acc. to Jarl Charpentier in 'Die Suparnasage').

which gives place to reconciliation in strife in their wager²⁷ or in the frequent fight and reconciliation between their sons. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* we have Vinatā herself giving birth to ten daughters, one among whom is Kadrū ('Kadrukā').²⁸ Against the background of the fight between the nāgas and Garuḍa it is of equal importance to note that Śeṣa (the serpent that supports the earth) proclaims Garuḍa-Vainateya (the son of Vinatā) to be his brother, which fact again hints at the common family of these two.²⁹ We have already referred to the sons of Garuḍa (cf. Mb. V-101). In the same context we have a clear hint of the sons of Garuḍa (or the Garuḍas) being of the Kṣatriya caste and devoid of brahminhood because they destroyed *their own 'kindred'*.³⁰ These 'kindred', of course, are the serpents whom the Garuḍas eat. This should leave no doubt as to the fact that both Garuḍas and the nāgas were of the *'same tribe'*, living in the same place and never formed two different tribes. They were only two divisions of a single whole. The nāgas are said to be the food of Garuḍa; but they are themselves born from Garuḍa's own wing,³¹ thus hinting at the peculiar idea of the *'whole-ness'* of the phratries.

When we have clearly understood that the Garuḍas and the Nāgas were not two different tribes but only two phratries or sections of the same tribe, the question which perplexed scholars gets easily solved as we shall presently see. Hopkins³² thinks

27. For their wager see 'Suparṇādhyaṃya'; Mb., I: 24 ff. and their story in the Purāṇas.

28 Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, III. 14-20 to 22.

29 Cf. Mb. I. 36-10; I. 67-70.

30 Mb., V. 101-6.

31 Cf. *Suparṇādhyaṃya*, XIV. 28-1 (ed., by Jarl Charpentier). Also *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*:—from the bird-Gāyatrī's (i.e., Suparṇa's later form identified with Garuḍa) nail the serpent was born. That the Vedic form *suparṇa* was different from Garuḍa and that these two were later identified and that the tales about Suparṇa-Gāyatrī in the Brāhmaṇas were influenced by tribal belief is dealt with by the author in his thesis '*Legends in the Mahābhārata with a brief survey of Folk-tales*' shortly to be published as a book.

32 Cf. *Epic Mythology*, p. 23.

that the Garuḍas were certain chieftains of the Malabar coast of India; but wonders how they do not have a claim to euhemiristic interpretation. Jarl Charpentier³³ does not throw any proper light on this point. Writing recently Father Heras propounds that Garuḍa was the leader of a Nāga-expedition to Egypt;³⁴ but this statement of his is based on a misunderstanding of a passage in the Mb. and he does not refer at all to Suparṇādhyaḃya that gives an earlier record of the Garuḍa-nāga feud.³⁵ Any way the point that puzzled the scholars was—how could the Garuḍa (s) though said to be overpowering the nāgas, not have any claim to euhemiristic interpretation when their feeble enemies the nāgas could be said to have such a claim? The Garuḍas are extinct as a race while the nāgas had big kingdoms and are still found in certain places in India. We have seen how there are indications to believe that Garuḍas were only a division of the nāgas and now we shall probe further into the matter.

In the context of the 'Horse-Sacrifice' ('Aśvamedha'), we come across various lores that were to be recited on various days. On the fifth day of that sacrifice the 'Sarpavidyā'³⁶ was a special lore to be recited; for it was on it that the 'Sarpas'—the people of Arbuda Kādraveya would be present and this 'Sarpavidyā' was their special lore. In the same context in the place of this 'Sarpavidyā', we have 'Viṣa-vidyā' in the Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra,³⁷ while the passage remains otherwise the same. This lore was taught to the 'knowers of serpents'³⁸ by which Max

33 Cf. Die Suparnasage. (Uppsala 1920).

34 Cf. Father Heras 'Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture' (Bombay, 1953) p. 361 ff.

35 Cf. 'Rāmaṇiyakam, The island of the Nāgas,' my paper in 'Purāṇa' Journal of the All India Kasiraja Trust, vol. III, 1. (Jan. 1961).

36 Cf. Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, (ed. Hillebrandt, Calcutta, 1888) XVI. 2-13, 14.

37 Cf. Āśvalāyana-Śrauta Sūtra IV, 6-1 (Uttara Ṣaṭkam).

Cf. also *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* VIII. 4-3-9.

38 The word used is 'Sarpa-Vidāh' (Cf. Āśvalāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra referred to above).

Müller rightly understands the 'Snake-charmers'³⁹ or those who know the art of controlling snakes, or of mitigating the snake-poison. The word 'sarpa vidyā' (or the 'Viṣa-vidyā') is rendered by the commentator (Anartīya) of the Śāṅkhāyana Śr. Sū. as 'Garuḍa'⁴⁰ (vidyā). The great Śaṅkarācārya, commenting on the Chāndogya Upaniṣad renders the word 'Sarpa-vidyā' as 'Gāruḍam'.⁴¹ This word 'Gāruḍa' or 'Gāruḍā' can easily be derived from 'Garuḍa', and this would naturally mean that Garuḍa is considered to be the presiding deity of this lore of Snake-charming. A few more examples would prove what we say. The Gaṇeśa Purāṇa refers to a 'Garuḍa Śāstra',⁴² the knower of which has control over snake. The Vāyu Purāṇa refers to one Sugrīva who is a 'gāruḍi'⁴³ and a terror to the serpents which means he is a snake-charmer. The Skanda Purāṇa speaks of a 'Garuḍa-Silā' (the Garuḍa-slab) the very sight of which would cure the victim of snake-poison.⁴⁴ This means that the 'Sarpa-vidyā' which was the Gāruḍa vidyā i.e. the lore of snake-charming, was taught to the 'sarpas' for it was, as we have already seen, their sacred lore. The natural conclusion from this would be that the 'Gāruḍa vidyā' (which formerly was called the 'Sarpa vidyā') was the sacred lore of the 'sarpas' or the 'Sarpavidah'. Now, the commentator of the Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra, renders the word 'Sarpavidah' as 'Kāśyapīyādi-Viṣatantra-vidah'⁴⁵ (i.e. the knowers of the poison-lore such as the sons of Kāśyapa etc.). This fact is corroborated by a passage in the Mb. in the context of the Garuḍa-nāga conflict where Brahmā is said to have given

39 Cf. Maxmüller, *History of Ancient India*, (Allahabad 1926) p. 20.

40 Cf. Ed. Calcutta 1887. Cf. 'Gārudām Kankatiyam vā'.

41 Cf. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VII. 2-1; 4; 4-1; 7-1 and Śankara thereon.

42 Cf. *Gaṇeśa Purāṇa*, 131-28. 43 *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 39-39, 40.

44 *Skanda Purāṇa*, II. 4-27 & 30; VII. 156-2, 3. For other references see *Rājatarangini* IV. 333-1; *Raghuvamśa*; XIII. 53, *Kādambari* III. 29 etc.

45 Cf. commentary on *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra*.

the 'Viṣaharī vidyā' to Kaśyapa.⁴⁶ Garuḍa, (and not the nāgas) is always referred to as 'Kāśyapeya'⁴⁷ or the son of 'Kaśyapa', while the nāgas are generally referred to as 'Kādraveyas' as also are the 'sarpas'. The 'Sarpas', as we have noted are said to be the people of Arbuda Kādraveya. The sarpas and the nāgas are often spoken as one; and are completely identified. It is possible that the clan of the sarpas later came to be called the nāgas. Kadrū, the mother of the sarpas according to the Brāhmaṇas (where we have the word 'Kādraveya') is later herself said to be the mother of the nāgas.⁴⁸ On the basis of this identification it is possible to lay down that:

- (i) 'Sarpavidyā' (also called Gāruḍā vidyā) was the special lore of the sarpas the people of Kādraveya.
- (ii) The sarpas were identified with the nāgas. Hence
- (iii) 'sarpavidyā' (Gāruḍā-vidyā) came to be the special lore of the nāgas. And that
- (iv) Those of the nāgas who learnt this (Gāruḍā) vidyā came to be called Kāśyapeyas' or 'Gāruḍas'. Also that
- (v) Garuḍa was chosen as the presiding deity of the 'serpent lore' (i.e. the Gāruḍa-mantras)⁴⁹ because this bird actually devours the snakes and is immune to their poison.

It can clearly be seen now that the Garuḍas were only a sect of the big nāga tribe or clan. This is the reason why we have descriptions in literature and depictions in sculpture where Garuḍa is constantly reconciled to the nāgas. The constant association of Garuḍa and the nāgas in the sculptures of Kamboja

⁴⁶ Cf. *Mb.* I. 18-16 (BORI).

⁴⁷ Cf. *Mb.* I. 23-13; I. 30-41, etc. etc.

⁴⁸ Cf. The whole *suparṇādhyaṃya*; also *Mb.* I. 25-41; 27-1; 3; 29-10.

⁴⁹ For the 'Gāruḍa-Mantras' see *Agni Pūrāṇa* 295-5; also 295-27, the mantra is as follows:—

'Om jwala, mṛhāmate hṛdayāya, Garuḍaviśālaśirase, Garuḍa viśikhāya' etc.

(as we have referred to) can well be understood in this light. Particularly interesting in this connection will be to note that the figures of the nāgas have small figures of Garuḍas on their crest. On the shoulders of the Garuḍas, that stand in the crest of the nāgas, are seen small figures of Viṣṇu.⁵⁰ As Viṣṇu that rides Garuḍa is the tutelary deity of the Garuḍa-vamśa,⁵¹ cannot we say that the statues having Garuḍas in the crest of the nāgas indicate Garuḍa to be the tutelary deity of a sect of the nāga tribe (may be) along with the 'serpent'. And this sect might be that one who learnt the lore later identified with the Gāruḍā vidyā. These garuḍa figures in the crest of the nāgas appear more or less like the sect marks, and this closely resembles the idea that the Garuḍas as a whole class had the 'Śrīvatsa' as the sect-mark.⁵² We can go a step further and say that, before the Viṣṇuite influence, the bird Garuḍa might have been chosen as an emblem or sect-mark by the section of the nāgas (sarpas) who learnt the lore of snake-charming and after the Viṣṇuite influence, this section of the nāgas was converted to Viṣṇuism retaining its sect-mark Garuḍa and also the tribal emblem the nāga. The Kamboja sculptures we have referred to, indicate this fact in as much as they depict all the three: The nāga, the Garuḍa, in the crest of the nāga and over and above all Viṣṇu. The Garuḍa bird being the sect-mark of a section of the nāgas goes well with the conclusion arrived at by Jean Boisselier about the nāgas being divided as good and bad; and Garuḍa being the protector of the good nāgas, obviously those who had the bird as their tutelary deity.

Thus it is quite clear that the Garuḍas were only a sect of the nāgas who learned the special lore of the nāgas and never formed a different tribe. It must be remembered here that Garuḍa's identification with Tārksya was a later one, though Garuḍa is

50 Cf. Jean Boisselier's article, note (20) Supra.

51 For Viṣṇu as the tutelary deity of the Garuḍas. Cf. *Mb.* V. 101-8.

52 For 'Śrīvatsa' as the sect mark of the Garuḍas see *Mb.* V. 101.

spoken of as Tārksya.⁵³ There is no definiteness in the identification; for, sometimes he is even called the son of Tārksya.⁵³ Garuḍa has no connection with the bird clan primarily speaking. It is Garuḍa's identification with Tārksya that made him later the king of the 'Bird-class', the members of which would be present on the ninth day of the 'Horse-sacrifice'; but their sacred lore is the '*Vāyu-vidyā*'-and not the *sarpa-vidyā*.⁵⁴ The fact that '*sarpa-vidyā*' and not the lore of the birds was later associated with the name of Garuḍa (Cf. *Gāruḍā-vidyā* or *Gāruḍam* etc.) clearly shows that Garuḍa had nothing primarily to do with the bird-class or its lore. Later, however, it seems that, Garuḍa—himself being a powerful bird—came to be mythologically identified with Tārksya—the original king of birds; and then the '*Gāruḍa-mantras*' also came to be called '*Tārksya-mantras*'. Hence also the Tārksyas as a fighting people⁵⁵ must be taken as separate from the Garuḍas.

It can be no point of wonder now, why the Garuḍas—who were only a section of the big nāga tribe—could not have any claim to euhemiristic interpretation like the nāgas; because, for all practical purposes the Garuḍas were only the nāgas.⁵⁶

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53 Cf. *Mb.* I. 30-31; V. 105-18; Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa III. 343; Suparṇa-Adhyāya IV. 7-3 etc. etc.

54 Āśvalāyana Śr. Sūtra IV. 7 Uttara Ṣaṭka; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIII. 4-3-13. Śāṅkhāyana Śr. Sūtra XVI. 2-13, 14.

55 Cf. *Mb.* VI. 3-4.

56 It may be good to recall a parallel here. There is in Mahārāshtra (India) a caste called the 'Māngas'. There is also another caste called the '*Mānga-Gāruḍis*', which is only a sub-caste of the Māngas as the name clearly shows. These Mānga-gāruḍis are snake-charmers and jugglers. This can show how from a big caste, a sub-caste can appear.

India's oversea Trade as known from the Buddhist canons

There are some references in the Buddhist literature to show that people of Northern India, specially of the eastern region were interested in maritime activities and that they sailed to foreign lands for transacting business. Illustrations cited by the Buddha whose activities were mainly confined to Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, of sailing on the ocean for six months,¹ going to the ocean with direction-showing-birds (*disākāka*),² merchants crossing the ocean³ and so on would suggest that the people of the Buddha's time were acquainted with sea-faring. When the *Theragāthā* speaks of merchants sailing on the sea with the hope of earning wealth,⁴ and when the popular stories tell us of ship-wrecks,⁵ spacious ships,⁶ ship-building activities,⁷ and of sea-farers from Vārāṇasī, Videha and Campā sailing to foreign lands like Suvannadīpa⁸ and Tambapaṇṇi and so on, they furnish us with the evidence of oversea trade. The description in the Ceylonese chronicles of prince Vijaya's voyage to Ceylon from Bengal with his 700 followers⁹ presupposes a regular sea-trade and intercourse. It is true that Baudhāyana⁹ and Manu¹⁰ place the profession of sea-faring under prohibited practices, but the former's own statement that navigation was peculiar to the people of the North¹¹ shows that it was not given up. According to the Law-Givers, as sea-faring was taken up mainly by the Vaiśya community, it was not recommended for the Brāhmaṇas. It was probably the uncertainty of life and low estimation of the career from the orthodox point of view

1 SN., III, 155; V. 51; AN., IV. 127.

2 DN., I. 222.

3 DN., II. 89.

4 Theragāthā, 530.

5 Jātaka, III. 127-29; V. 75

6 Jātaka, Nos. 466, 539.

7 Jātaka, IV. 159; VI. 427.

8 Dipavaṃsa, IX. 10-28; Mahāvaṃsa, VI.

9 Bau. Dh. S., II. 1. 41.

10 Manu., III. 158.

11 Bau. Dh. S., I. 1. 20.

that some of the Dharmaśāstra writers prohibited the Brāhmaṇa community from resorting to sea-faring. But when we refer to the Sūtras of Pāṇini, the mention of various terms connected with navigation leave no doubt as regards the practice of sea-faring during this period.¹² Pāṇini refers to *samudra* (ocean)¹³ and two kinds of islands, viz., near the sea-coast (*anusamudra*) and in the main ocean. Goods imported from the former type of islands are called *dvaīpya*; whereas those from the latter *dvaipa* or *dvaīpaka*.¹⁴ Boat-ferry is called *nāvya*.¹⁵ Merchants are valued in terms of the number of ship-loads of merchandise possessed by them, such as *dvināva-dhana* (one having two cargo-boats) or *pañcanāvapriya* (one sailing with five ship-loads)¹⁶ and the like.

The merchants are also referred to as either owning the whole cargo-boat or sharing a part of its merchandise.¹⁷ Pāṇini further makes mention of various types of boats, e.g. *Utsaṅga*,¹⁸ *Udūpa* (*dongī*, it is described as shaped like the half-moon), *Utpate* (probably a longish fishing boat) and *Pitaka* (a basket like cavacle).¹⁹ The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya makes it quite clear that during the days of Candragupta Maurya, Indian navigation was in an advanced stage. The state had instituted an officer known as

12 Agrawala: *India as known to Pāṇini*, pp. 155-56.

13 Pāṇini, IV. 4. 118.

14 Pāṇini, IV. 3. 10.

15 Pāṇini, IV. 4. 9.

16 Agrawala: *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 155.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 156.

18 *Ibid.*, There is also reference to Bhastra (raft of inflated skins), and Bharata (float of wood). The former is used in Punjab, N.W.F.P. and Afghanistan.

19 Pāṇini, IV. 4. 15. It was originally made out of the hollow of a tree. It is known as *Dhang* in Sindh and was similar to Roman *Cumba*. (*India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 156). The boatmen of Chotanagpur construct their *dongis* by carving the hollow of a tree; they are unfamiliar with the practice of making boat as in the north. It seems that Pāṇini refers to such boats which must have been used for crossing small rivers, as is the case in Chotanagpur today.

the *nāvadhyakṣa* as the Superintendent of ships.²⁰ We can assume that Pāṭaliputra was a great centre of navigation in Northern India during the Pre-Mauryan and Mauryan period.

Our sources reveal that sea-faring was well developed and proper training was given in the science of navigation, which was known as the *niyāmakasippa*.²¹ We do not know exactly the nature of training imparted to the young sea-farers. Probably the mariners were trained in the knowledge of various trade-routes, directions of winds, how to train and utilise the *disākākas*, how to escape ship-wrecks and so on. While sailing on the waters, birds were of great help for the navigators. In every ship the mariners kept a direction-guiding-crow (*disākāka*), or other bird (*īradassī sakuna*),²² which would fly to the coast, if there was any visible, otherwise it would come back to the ship. Thus they were enabled to know if they were sailing near a land, or were still in a region where there was no trace of it. It seems that accomplished mariners had to possess a thorough knowledge of training and utilising birds for the purpose of knowing directions. Ship-wrecks were quite common and probably instructions were given how to escape from such accidents. Sea-trade was always precarious and life was never secure. Parents dissuaded their sons to take up this career. But the attraction of the adventure and thrill of navigation impelled many to choose this career.

The mariners (*niyāmakas*) had organised themselves into guilds, the head of which was known as the *niyāmakajettḥaka*. The term *jettḥaka* was used to denote the head or the Alderman of a guild, and almost all the crafts of this period had formed their guilds, under their respective *jettḥakas*. Probably the *niyāmakajettḥaka* was the captain, the owner of the ship and the leader of the traders travelling with him. Decidedly, his responsibilities were heavy, as the lives of

20 *Kau.*, II. 28.

21 *Jātaka*, IV. 137.

22 *D.N.*, I. 222; *Jātaka*, III. 126, 267.

his fellow travellers might not be saved, if due to his negligence the ship lost its route.

The *Jātaka* stories tell us that traders from ports on the Gaṅgā sailed to the eastern lands. The *Saṅkha Jātaka* describes the journey of the Brāhmaṇa Saṅkha from Vārāṇasī to Suvāṇṇabhūmi²³ (Burma and portions of Indo-Chinese Peninsula). The *Silānisamsa Jātaka* refers to a sea-faring nymph as bringing shipwrecked people to Vārāṇasī from the far off sea.²⁴ References are made to voyages from Videha to Suvāṇṇabhūmi. King Mahājanaka is said to have travelled in a ship with 700 caravans and reached there.²⁵ Campā to Suvāṇṇabhūmi voyage was quite common.²⁶ Traders from Vaiśālī also seem to have been going to Suvāṇṇabhūmi and other places for trade. In later times we find contact between Vaiśālī and the Arakan.²⁷ The *Valābassa Jātaka* speaks of trade between Vārāṇasī and Tambapaṇṇidīpa.²⁸ All these suggest that vessels from the ports on the Gaṅgā sailed to lands beyond the Bay of Bengal. The vessels starting from Vārāṇasī must have been anchoring at Pāṭaliputra and Campā, both being important river ports. At these ports traders most probably bartered their goods, loaded their vessels with local products and then proceeded further to the foreign market. It is not unlikely that traders from Pāṭaliputra and Campā sailed for the eastern lands with their ships carrying locally manufactured goods. These cities must have been busy centres of trade and commerce. Though only Suvāṇṇabhūmi and Tambapaṇṇidīpa are mentioned, it can be

23 *Jātaka*, IV. 15. 17.

24 *Jātaka*, II. 112.

25 *Jātaka* No. 539.

26 *Jātaka*, VI. 34.

27 Vaiśālī was the name of a famous city in Arakan, and according to local chronicles it was built in 789 A.D. by a king of the Candra dynasty. For two centuries the city retained its position as a strong hold of Indian culture, specially Buddhism. At present it is a small village of 80 houses. Its relation with Vaiśālī is difficult to ascertain, but Burmese tradition is acquainted with Indian Vaiśālī and shows that Burmese people had great respect for Vaiśālī. (R. C. Majumdar in *Vaiśālī Abhinandan Grantha*, pp. 43-44).

28 *Jātaka*, II. 127-29.

assumed that trade was carried on with all the islands of the East Indies. The *Mahāniddesa* tells us that India's trade to the east existed with Kālamukha, Suvannabhūmi, Vessuṅga, Verāpatha, Takkola, Tamali, Tambapaṇṇi and Java. First two of these places can be identified with Arakan coast and lower Burma.²⁹ Next three correspond to Ptolemy's Besyngeitai, Borbai, and Takkala.³⁰ Tamali has been identified by Sylvain Levi with Tāmralinga in the Malaya Peninsula.³¹ The *Apadāna* states that traders from Malaya and China visited India.³²

Thus we find that from the sea-ports on the Gangā, traders of the eastern regions of India went to the eastern lands across the sea. During the earlier period Campā and Vārāṇasī were the most important ports, but when Pāṭaliputra rose to imperial status, it became the biggest and the most busy centre of trade in Eastern India.

The *Baveru Jātaka* speaks of trade with *Baveruratttha*,³³ a birdless country, which appears to be Babylonia. There are evidences both foreign and indigenous to establish India's trade relation with Babylonia and the countries on the Mediterranean during the 6th cen. B.C.³⁴ Mr. Kennedy who worked on this subject concluded that 'maritime commerce between India and Babylonia flourished in the 7th and the 6th, but more specially in the 6th century B. C.'³⁵ Another scholar Mr. A.M.T. Jackson writing on India's ancient trade has observed that the Buddhist *Jātakas* and some of the Sanskrit Law Books tell us that ships from Broach and Supārā traded with Babylonia from

29 R. C. Majumdar : *Suvannadvīpa*, p. 57; S. Levi: *Études Asiatiques*, vol. II, Ch. II.

30 B. C. Law: *India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 188.

31 *Ibid.*

32 *Apadāna*, I, p. 2.

33 *Jātaka*, III, 126; Buhler; *Origin of Indian Alphabet*, p. 84.

34 R. K. Mukherjee : *Indian Shipping*, Chap. I.

35 *JRAS.*, 1898.

the 8th to the 6th century B.C.³⁶ The *Suppāraka Jātaka* says that a band of travellers sailed from the port of Bharukaccha and passed through six seas under the leadership of a blind, but skilled mariner.³⁷ The seas thus mentioned are the Khuramāla, the Aggimāla, the Dadhimāla, the Nilakusamāla, the Nalamāla, and the Valabhamukha.³⁸ These seas have been identified with the Persian gulf, the Arabian coast, Nubia on the North-East corner of Africa, the canal joining the Red sea and the Mediterranean.³⁹ If this identification be correct, it can be established that Indians possessed the knowledge of a sea-route from the Western coast to the Mediterranean. During the 5th cen. B.C. certain Indian commodities, e.g. rice, sandalwood, and peacocks were known by Indian names to the Greeks and others.⁴⁰ It cannot be denied at the present knowledge of the subject that during this period Indians traded with the countries on the Mediterranean. This trade was probably not shared by the people of Eastern India; because in that case traders from the east would have to travel through land upto Bharukaccha or Suppāraka for sailing to the West. There are references of caravans regularly going to the port of Bharukaccha from the trade centres of the east. Hence, it is very likely that traders from the prosperous trade centres of Eastern India used to travel with their caravans upto the port of Bharukaccha, so that their merchandise might be exported for being sold in the markets of the foreign lands which had trade relations with India through her sea-ports on the Western Coast.

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36 Jackson, quoted by Mukherjee, *Indian Shipping*, p. 90.

37 *Jātaka*, IV. 138-43.

38 *Ibid.*

39 *IBORS.*, VI, 195 (Dr. Jayaswal's Article); Mukherjee: *Indian Shipping*, Chap. I; R. L. Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India*, p. 228.

40 Mukherjee, *Indian Shipping*, p. 88.

History of Khandelā

At a distance of 28 miles from Sikar in Rajasthan stands the town of Khandelā. It is a place of great antiquity containing, as it does, ruins of old temples and monuments. The region round about Khandelā appears to be older than the Christian era. An inscription¹ of the third century B.C. of this place records that some body was killed by Mūla with a poisoned arrow and his memorial was set up by Mahīsa, one of his pupils. Its old names as known from the literary sources were Khandilla² and Khandelapura.³ In the 16th century A.D., this town became well known by the name of Rāyasālāvāda after its famous ruler Rāyasāla. Its prosperity in early times is evident from the fact that some villages in the neighbourhood of Khandelā were once its wards and the Khandelavāla caste among the merchants and Brāhmaṇas originated from this place.

Khandelā appears to have been a great centre of Śaivism in early times. In the 7th century A.D., a Śaiva temple was in existence.⁴ An inscription dated 644 A.D. records that Ādityanāga of Dhusara family⁵ erected the temple of the God Ardhanārīśvara. The present temple of Khandalesvara Mahādeva is built of old

1 *ARRMA.*, 1935, No. 1.

2 *JGPS.*, p. 3. See also HM IX, p. 99.

3 *KB.*, p. 96.

4 *ARRMA.*, 1935 No. 1.

5 At present, the persons of this family call themselves Bhārgava Brāhmaṇas but in the 7th century A.D., they belonged to the Vaiśya caste.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. *ARRMA* = Annual Report, Rajputana Museum Ajmer.
2. *JGPS* = Jaina Grantha Praśasti Saṅgraha.
3. *KB* = Kharaturaccha Bṛihadgurvāvali.
4. *GOS* = Gaekwads Oriental Series.
5. *PRAS. WC* = Progress Report, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle.
6. *URI* = Udaipur Rājya kā Itihāsa.

materials. That Saivism was dominant at this place in early days at the time of the visit of Jaina *Ācāryas* for the propagation of Jainism, is known from the Jaina literary sources. Jinasenācārya in the line of the saint Aparājita is said to have converted to Jainism its Cauhāna ruler with his subjects who were formerly the followers of Saivism.⁶ When this incident took place is not definitely known. Probably, it happened in the eighth century A.D., because Khandelavāla caste is not known to be in existence before it. Its earliest mention is found in the inscription of 1197 A.D.⁷ When these Khandelavālas increased in number, they formed *gotras*, after the names of villages, surnames etc. From a *prāśasti* of the *Dharmaratnākara* written in 998 A.D., it is known that its author Jayasena visited Khandalika where he impressed the people by his teachings.⁸ In 1287 A.D., Jinaprabha Sūri also came to Khandelapura which was then a great seat of Saivism. He converted the people to Jainism by his preaching.⁹ With a view to spreading Jainism, Brāhmaṇika, pupil of Bhaṭṭāraka Jinacandra of Mūlasaṃgha in 1461 A.D., paid his visit to Khandelapura where Śāha Gūjara and Jagasī, sons of Pālḥa got the *Vardhamānacarita* written and presented it to him for acquiring merit.¹⁰

Khandelā remained a holy place of the Jainas, and it is mentioned in the *Śakalatīrtha stotra* of Siddhasena Sūri, author of the 12th century A.D.¹¹ Probably Khandilla Gaccha among the Jainas was named after this place. Vīraganī, who lived in the 12th century A.D., was of this Gaccha. This literary association of Jainism with Khandela is also confirmed by the archaeological evidence. The *Sarāvagī* temple of this

6 It is known from the *Vaiśāvali* of the Khandelavāla caste.

7 Inscription found in the Jaina temple of Jaipur. See appendix No. 1 for the text.

8 *JGPS.*, p. 3.

9 *KB.*, p. 96.

10 Copy of *Vardhamāna Caritra in the Śāstra* Bhāṇḍāra at Beawar. Manuscript No. 16. See Appendix No. 2 for the text.

11 *GOS.*, LXXVI, p. 156.

place is undoubtedly old but is dilapidated. It cannot be older than the tenth century A.D.¹² The old sculptures of the medieval times are also found.¹³ In one sculpture, the principal and central figures are of a man and his wife. As there is a nimbus behind the head of each, these figures are most probably of king and queen. Originally, it seems to have belonged to some temple built by them. But it must have been a Jainā fane, as shown by the figure of a Jina with which the sculpture is surmounted. The lowermost part is occupied by a group of seven persons.

The early political history of Khaṇḍelā is still in the dark. It seems to have been ruled by the Nirvāṇa branch of the Cauhāna rulers. A certain king called Khadgalasena¹⁴ is known to have ruled over this place but nothing is known about his time. From the *Hammīramahākāvya*, it is known that Hammīra, who ascended the throne in about 1282 A.D., started on *digvijaya* or conquest of all the quarters. On his return, he reached home passing through Puṣkara, Mahārāṣṭra, Khaṇḍilla, Champā and Karkarāla. From a *prāsasti* of Kīrtistambha at Chitor, it is known that Mahārāṇā Kumbhā, who became the ruler in 1433 A.D., is said to have plundered the town of Khaṇḍelā with his large army. In 1461 A.D., Udayakaraṇa was ruling over this place as it is known from a *prāsasti* of the *Vardhamāna-carita*.¹⁵

Rāyasāla was the most famous ruler of Khaṇḍelā. Originally, he was a Jāgīrdāra of Lāmbhī. He joined the imperial forces of Delhi against Afghan invasions at the advice of his minister Devadāsa of *Baniā* caste. He had the good fortune to distinguish himself by cutting down a leader of the enemy in the presence of the imperial general. He was introduced to Emperor Akbar who conferred upon him the title of Rāyasāla Darabārī,¹⁶

12 PRAS., WC., 1910, p. 57.

13 Ibid., p. 56.

14 URI., p. 307.

15 See fn. 10.

16 The name of Rāyasāla Darabārī will be found in the Ain-i-Akbari among the Mansabdārs of twelve hundred and fifty horses, a rank of high importance, being equivalent to that conferred on the sons of potent Rājās.

and granted him the districts of Revāsā and Kasulli then belonging to the Candellā Rājputs. It was the beginning of the greatness in the career of Rāyasāla. Scarcely, had he settled his new possessions, he was recalled to court to take part in an expedition against Bhatner. Fresh services obtained new favours and he received a grant of Khandelā and Odipur then belonging to the Nirvāṇa Rājputs who disclaimed to pay allegiance to the empire and gave themselves upto unlicensed rapine. Finding that, it would be difficult to expel the brave Nirvāṇa Rājputs, he took recourse to stratagem to occupy Khandelā. He accompanied Mānasimha against the heroic Rāṇa Pratāpa of Mewar. He was also in the expedition to Kabul against the Afghans. In all his enterprises, he obtained new distinctions.¹⁷ The descendants of Rāyasāla using his name as patrynomic are styled Rāyasiloṭa.

After the death of Rāyasāla, his son Giradhara ascended the gadi. At his period, the Mughal empire was in the most disordered state and the mountainous region called the Mewat was inhabited by the daring and ferocious bandits called Mewat who carried systematic plunder even upto the imperial metropolis. In such a state of affair, the task of maintaining law and order was assigned to the chief of Khandelā who proved equal to the task and succeeded in exterminating the roving bands of the bandits. In recognition of his meritorious services, the Mughal emperor granted him the title of Rājā. After his death, his eldest son Dwārkadās succeeded in about 1600 A. D. He was a devotee of Narasimha and built the temple in his honour. He fought against the Khān Jahān Lodī, the great hero of the age in which he lived and was slain. He was succeeded in 1633 A. D. by his son Vīrasimha Deva who served with his contingent in the conquest of Deccan and was made the governor of Pernalla.

Bahadur Simh succeeded his father in about 1663 A. D. He was a contemporary of the great Mughal emperor Aurangzeb.

¹⁷ The details of Khandela's history, can be read at length in the fifth, sixth and seventh chapters of *AAR.*, II.

As a result of the intolerant religious policy of the Mughal emperor, he left the imperial army. Aurangzeb sent his forces against Khandelā with the object of exacting tribute and destroying the temples. At the sight of the royal army, Bahadur Siṃha abandoned his capital and did not resist the Mughal forces. Hearing this news, Sujana Siṃha, the Chieftain of Chapowlee, a descendant of Bhojarāja (the second son of Rāyasāla) resolved to protect the temple or to perish fighting. Sujana could not avert the inevitable and died in action for the ashes of his fathers and temples of the gods. The temple was razed to the ground, the idols broken to pieces and the fragments thrown into the foundation of a mosque erected on its ruins. Bahadur Siṃha continued to reside in an adjacent town. In course of time, when the Syed Brothers came to power, he regained his country. But an imperial contingent was permanently placed at Khandelā and its expenses were borne by Bahadur.

From about the close of the 17th century A. D. we find the interference of the Kachāvāha rulers of Amber in the affairs of Khandelā.¹⁸ In 1686 A. D., Rāma Siṃha, the Āmbhera Rājā was asked by the Mughal authorities to settle some local trouble between Keśarī Siṃha, the fifth in descent from Rāyasāla and the Faujdar of Narnaul. In 1709 A. D., we find Amber intervening on a request from Delhi in connection with the incessant family feuds between the rivals Udaisiṃha and Dhirāja Siṃha, the former Keśarī Siṃha's brother and successor by adoption and the latter Keśarī Siṃha's nephew. In 1712 A. D. a mansab of 1000 personal and 700 horses was granted to Udaisiṃha by the emperor with parganas of Khandelā and Revāsā as his jagir.

A more formidable intervention by Sawai Jai Siṃha took place in 1718 A. D. Tod tells us that "he laid siege to the citadel called Udaigarh". Udaisiṃha held out a month in this castle, he had constructed and called by his own name. Seeing his resources failing, he fled to Naru in Marwar and his son

¹⁸ Report on the Land Tenures and special powers of Thikanedārs of the Jaipur State, p. 75.

Sawai Simha presented the keys throwing himself on the clemency of the conqueror. He was well received and pardoned on condition of becoming tributary to Amber. He signed an agreement to pay annually one lakh of rupees. This account needs modification. It is incorrect to describe Sawai Jai Simha as the conqueror to whom Udai Simha became tributary. Dhirāja Simha in 1723 A. D. still called himself the servant of the emperor and it was to enforce Dhirāja Simha's claims upon the state that Jai Simha interfered. After achieving his object, the latter levied a lakh of rupees as *Kher Kharch* 'or military expenses from each of the *Panedaras*, realizing it by instalments during 1721, 1722 and 1723. A *pesbakasha* was also taken but this seems to have been an imperial levy.

It is only from 1726 onward that we find regular collections taken from Khandelā by Sawai Jai Simha in his own right—the reason being that in 1725 A. D., he obtained the *Ijāra* for Khandelā and Revāsā from Delhi. Finally in 1813 A. D., the whole of Khandelā and Revāsā Parganā was seized by Lachmana Simha of Sikar.

APPENDICES

Appendix No. I

Inscription on the image in the Jaina temple of Jaipur.

1. खंडेलवालान्वयः सः १२६० श्रीमूलसंघे साः राजदंडे सा जगमाहा पुत्र हरपति वैशाख सुदी १ शुक्ल ।

Appendix No. II

Praśasti of Manuscript No. 16 in Ailaka Pannalal Digambara Jaina Saraswati Bhawan, Byawas.

वर्धमान चरित कर्ता हरिचन्द्र—स्वस्ति श्री संः १५५८ वर्षे ज्यैष्ठ्ये वदि १५ बहस्पति वासरे खंडेलपुर शुभ स्थाने रावत श्रीउदयकरण राज्ये श्री मूलसंघे बलात्कार गणे सरस्वती गच्छे नंदि संघे कुंदकुंदान्वये भट्टारक श्री पद्मनंदिदेवा तत्पहे भट्टारक श्री शुभ चन्द्र देवा तत्पट्टालांकार वादी चक्र चूडामणि भट्टारक श्री जिनचन्द्र देवा तत् शिष्याय नीकद जोग्य प्रदत्तं ॥ खंडेलवालान्वेय पाटनी गोत्रे साः पाल्हा भार्या जाटी तत् पुत्र साः गूजर जगसी इदं शास्त्रं लिखाप्य ज्ञानावरणी कर्म ययार्थं ज्ञानं पाजाय दत्तं । शुभं भवतु लेखक पाठकयोः ।

Two Prakrit Verses on Weighing Scales

In *Gāthā-saptasati*,¹ the well known anthology of romantic verses, by Hāla Sātavāhana, occurs the following verse:

वर्णवलीमप्यजानन्तो लोका लोकैर्गौरवाभ्यधिका-
सुवर्णकारतुला इव निरजरा अपि स्कन्धैरुह्यन्ते ॥

The meaning of this *gāthā* has not been properly interpreted but it purports to indicate that a common man, though sometimes unlettered, is eulogized by being carried on the shoulders, as in the case of a jeweller's balance. This comparison presupposes that (1) the jeweller's balance was occasionally marked with letters or marks to signify the weight; and (2) that it was carried on the shoulder of the jeweller. Reference to marks on a jeweller's balance are also found in the following verse in the well-known *Ṣaṭṭaka* called *Karpūra Mañjarī*,² by the Kalacuri court-poet Rājasekhara.

जजो तुवं गाराओ विअ गिर कखरो वि रअणतुलाए गिउज्जीअसि ।

अहं पुण तुल व्व लद्ध कखरा नि ण सुवणतोलये गिउज्जिअमि ॥

The difficulty of interpreting this verse has been obviated by the commentators³ by saying that the verse refers to the weight of the gold and not to the balance-beam.

Both these verses can now happily be explained with reference to actual specimens of balance-beams marked with letters and which as mentioned in the *Gāthā-saptasati* could be carried on shoulders.

In 1956, while excavating in the township site of Sirpur⁴ (ancient Śrī-pura, the capital of the Pāṇḍava kings of Dakṣiṇa Kośala) Dist: Raipur in Madhya Pradesh, I came across a long beam of iron having a solid knob at one of its ends and which

¹ Sataka 2, Verse 191.

² Konow, *Karpura Mañjarī*, (H. O. S.), p. 18

³ Calcutta edn., p. 154; *Kāvya-mālā* edn., p. 93

⁴ A full report on these excavations is in the press.

was described to me by my workers as a "Naraji." Inquiries revealed that in Chattisgarh and the adjacent tribal areas, the Kaseras or dealers in brass vessels used a kind of balance, which had one pan only and had a beam which was graduated with weight marks. They could weigh any object from 2 *tolas* upto 5 seers, without the use of actual weights and the dealers who plied their trade in the villages on horsebacks carried this weighing contrivance on their shoulders. The excavated specimen belonging to about 7th-8th century A. D. and its modern equivalents have been described by me in the Taraporewalla Volume.⁵

The meaning of the above mentioned Prakrit verses becomes quite clear when it is taken into account that the weighing contrivance alluded to by the poets was the early proto-type of the one pan scale now known as the Naraji (which incidentally is a word in modern vernacular corrupted from the Sanskrit *Nārāca* meaning a goldsmith's balance).

Naraji as a balance is quite well-known among the aboriginal tribes of Bastar in Chattisgarh and in Orissa, but further inquiries have revealed that it is used in East Bengal, Birbhum and Dhalbhum, and in the Midnapore districts also.⁶

It is curious to know that weighing by such a contrivance is actually figured in a Gandhāra sculpture,⁷ attributed to about 4th century A. D., in a scene depicting the Sivi Jātaka where the flesh of King Sivi is kept in a one-pan scale.

From the early date of this sculpture it is evident that the practice infiltrated into India through the Gandhāra region and came to stay in a wider region for a considerable length of time.

It is tempting to compare the one-pan scale with the steel-yard used by the Romans, and used commonly in the Western

5 *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. XVII, pp. 5-7.

6 I owe this information to Shri. K. D. Banerjee.

7 O. Monod-Bruhl, *Indian Temples*, (Oxford 1937) Plate 44. My attention to this sculpture was drawn by Dr. S. B. Deo of the Deccan College, Poona. Cf. also, Barrett, Douglas, *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum*, Plate XXVI. (81).

world. The earliest specimen of a steelyard, I know of, comes from Pompeii⁸ and is attributed to about 78 A. D. But the most essential difference between the two contrivances is in respect of the fulcrum and the use of weights. In the steelyard, the fulcrum was stationary and suspended weights were added to the longer arm of the beam. In the case of a Naraji, the fulcrum which usually is a small adjustable string which is made to move to and fro along the beam—is not stationary and no weights of any kind are used.

Allan⁹ in his list of symbols used on tribal coins in India, indicates steelyard as one of the symbols. If the attribution is a correct one, the antiquity of the Naraji or the one pan scale would then go to a far remote period, at least to the pre-Christian centuries in India.

MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT

8 Specimens in the Museum at Pompeii.

9 Allan, Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, Ancient India, pp. xxxviii and cxxvi, Pl. XVI, 8-10; XXXI, 2-4 10 etc.

Parsoji Bhonsla

Raja Raghuji Bhonsla died on the 22nd March 1816. The British Resident at the court of the Raja of Nagpur, Mr. Richard Jenkins, had written to the Resident at Hyderabad that "His Highness the Raja Raghooji Bhonsla died yesterday evening".¹ Raghuji was succeeded by his only son Bala Saheb, who was called Raja Parsoji Bhonsla "to the musnad without opposition."² At the time of his father's death he was thirty-eight years old. Parsoji was blind, lame and imbecile; about him the Resident who had seen him personally writes "early sensual indulgences, and injudicious remedies for diseases contracted therefrom, had gradually undermined a constitution originally strong, and he was now in intellect, weak, if not quite dementate, in body totally helpless, being blind and lame, from a paralysis of his lower extremities."³ In the same vein another Assistant Resident after a lapse of about three decades writes "he was so weak in health as to be incapable of any bodily exertion, he was blind, and lame from a paralysis of lower extremities, in intellect he was more than imbecile, his eccentricities in many instances amounted to actual derangement."⁴ A difficult situation was created as who would carry on the administration of the State. Parsoji Bhonsla during the life-time of his father, had not cared to learn the principles of the art of government, hence he had no training or experience with regard to administration. Parsoji's accession to the throne, witnessed intrigues and plots which were hatched by two different parties to wrest the supreme power of the state in their hands. His physi-

¹ Letter from Jenkins to the Resident at Hyderabad, dated 23rd March, 1816.

² The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings,—entry June 1, 1816.

³ Jenkins' Report, 1827 (Govt. Press, Nagpur) p. 68.

⁴ Ramsay's Report on the Nagpur State down to 1845, (Govt. Press, Nagpur, p. 16).

cal health and imbecility of intellect "disqualified him for the active duties of sovereignty."⁵ There were two parties who contested for the supremacy of the state. Naraba Chitnuvesse headed one of the parties, and the other was headed by Dhirmajee Naick "a chela of the Bhonsla family", who wielded much influence in the palace, and had the control over finance which strengthened his claims over the loyalty of the army. Dhirmaji Naick was not unwilling to support the claims of Goojba Dada, a nephew of the late Rajah by the female line, against the claims of Appa Sahib. Appa Sahib was the cousin of Parsoji Bhonsla "an active, sensible man—about twenty years of age"⁶ and was presumptive heir to the musnad as the latter had no children. He was the son of Vincajee, Raghuji's younger brother, who commanded the Maratha force "at the battle of Argaom"⁷ and who died in Benares in 1811. As he was the next male heir, his claims were also strong for the Regency. Towards the end of March of 1817 a reshuffling took place in the members of the parties. Naraba Chitnuvesse and Dhirmajee Naick forged their bonds with Banka Bacc "the chief and favourite widow of Ragojee, to exclude Appa Sahib from the Regency"⁸ Their strategy and manœuvre was successful for a short while, and they carried out the affairs of the government. Appa Sahib in the meanwhile was marshalling his strength, and left no stone unturned to strengthen his claims to be the Regent of the Raja. He was raising an army, and courted the assistance of leading civil and military officers for his cause, and made promises of future benefits to them. His cause was gaining ground and "the general voice of the ministers and military commanders acknowledge his right."⁹ The strength of his partisans increased, and by the middle of April, he was successful in wresting the person of Rajah from the hands of his adversaries and "on the 24th of that month

5 Malcolm, *Political History of India*, vol. I, p. 463.

6 The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings—June 1, 1816.

7 Grant Duff, vol. III, p. 394.

8 Ramsay's Report, 1845. p. 17. 9 Jenkins' Report, 1827, p. 68.

the ceremony of seating the Rajah on the musand was performed with all due state."¹⁰ A great political revolution was over, and Appa Sahib outwitted his opponents, and Dhirmajee was made a prisoner. Parsoji openly declared before the principal military and civil officers that he had delegated all the sovereign powers of the state to the hands of Appa Sahib to administer the country. He would be ruling the country on his behalf, and thus the substance of power came in the hands of Appa Sahib. So this declaration was made in the full Darbar before all the high-ranking officials of the State.

Appa Sahib after becoming the Regent and de facto ruler of the state found that his position was far from secure and safe. There were some people whose allegiance he could not win, and who bore hostility to him. During the period of struggle for ascendancy, Appa Sahib had made many overtures to the British Resident expressive of his anxiety to obtain the protection of the British Government. His proposal was conveyed to the Governor-General and on the 15th April, the directives were sent to the Resident to negotiate the treaty with Appa Sahib. To buttress his position Appa Sahib concluded a defensive alliance with the British Government on the 28th May 1816, and bartered away the independence of the state. He embarked upon a policy which was definitely inconsistent with the one followed by his predecessors. His predecessors had been always averse to contracting any subsidiary alliance with the British government. The treaty was made with Parsoji, through Appa Sahib as his Regent "in this he agreed to subsidize a British force of not less than 3,000 cavalry and 2,000 infantry, with the necessary equipment of guns and warlike stores."¹¹ The fourth Article of the treaty stipulated that British subsidiary force would consist of not less than one Regiment of Cavalry, one complete Company of European Artillery, one Company of European Artillery, one Company of Pioneers, and six Battalions

¹⁰ Ramsay's Report, 1845, p. 68.

¹¹ C. V. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, vol. 1, p. 384.

of Infantry, all fully equipped and provided. Two battalions of infantry were to be stationed at Nagpur, and the remainder at some point on the south bank of the Nerbudda. The Resident communicated to Colonel Doveton to march on Nagpur as he was the commander of the subsidiary force which was held in readiness on Nerbudda. By the 18th June two battalions of infantry arrived at Nagpur, and the rest of the brigade was cantoned on a spot three miles to the west of it. It was also agreed that in case of failure of payment of the stipulated amount for the maintenance of subsidiary force, he was to cede an equivalent portion of territory on demand.

Many influential ministers of the state opposed the suicidal policies and measures of Appa Sahib, i. e. Baka Bacc, Kashie Bacc (Parsoji's wife), Goojaba Dada and Naroba Chitnuveese. The Resident did not encourage the opponents of Appa Sahib when they conferred with him over the issue. Intrigues against the authority of Appa Sahib were renewed, and due to this he "withdrew to a small garden house near the Cantonments of the Brigade."¹² By the end of August 1816 he returned back to the palace, terminated the services of Goojaba Dada and other ministers who declined to dance according to his tune, and elevated to the head of his private establishment, Parbuttee Bacc another widow of the late Rajah. Upto the month of January 1817 matters went on smoothly, and Appa Sahib ruled over the dominions as the Regent. But at this time he had withdrawn his confidence from the ministers who negotiated the subsidiary alliance treaty with the British government, i. e. Nagoo Punt and Narain Pundit. His trusted ministers in whom he now placed his confidence were, Sadik Ali Khan and Ramchunder Waugh "the latter bore the character of being a deep, daring, designing man,"¹³ his influence increased so much that other ministers were very jealous of him and reported all his doings to the Resident. In January 1817 Appa Sahib went to Chanda on the pretext of settling some important state business. When

¹² Ramsay's Report, 1845, p. 19.

¹³ *Ibid.*

he was away Parsoji Bhonsla died suddenly on February 1st, 1817. It is held by several authorities, that Appa Sahib was responsible for the death of his cousin.

The British Resident Mr. Jenkins reported to the Governor-General Earl of Moira about the death of Parsoji "but his death was rather unsuspected, as last night he went to bed in apparently better health than usual."¹⁴ Mr Jenkins' subsequent intercourse with the inmates of the palace confirmed his doubts, that it was occasioned by violence, a previous attempt to poison him having failed. The biographer of the Governor-General Lord Hastings has also attested to this fact "the conduct of Appa Sahib, the regent, was not free from suspicion with respect to the crime."¹⁵ The imbecile Raja "was soon supplanted and murdered by the well-known Mudhoji otherwise known as Appa Sahib."¹⁶ Appa Sahib was afraid that if he breaks off his relations with the British government during the life-time of Parsoji, his opponents would weaken his position so "he one night caused Pursajee to be secretly strangled."¹⁷

Pursoji died at the age of thirty-nine on 1st February 1817, and on the same day "at about noon the funeral ceremonies were performed, and his principal wife Cashee Bae, burnt herself with the body."¹⁸ Appa Sahib did not show concern of returning to Nagpur till the 10th February though expresses were sent and relays of horses posted to bring him back.¹⁹ Thus the unfortunate Rajah was murdered by his cousin for the greed of power, and inordinate ambition to succeed to the musnad of Nagpur. Parsoji was the ruler of Nagpur State for just ten months.

JOHN. A. RAMALINGAM

¹⁴ Letter from Jenkins to the Governor-General, 1st February, 1817.

¹⁵ Major Ross of Bladensbur, "Life of Marquess of Hastings", p. 107.

¹⁶ Imperial Gazetteer of India, Central Provinces, p. 18.

¹⁷ Grant Duff, vol. III, p. 395.

¹⁸ Letter from Jenkins to the Governor-General, 21st February, 1817.

¹⁹ Letter from Jenkins to the Governor-General, 1st February, 1817.

MISCELLANY

Saṁvatsaras in the Parivrājaka Inscriptions

The Parivrājaka Mahārājas were the rulers in the area now known as Baghelkhand region in the Madhya Pradesh, during the days of the Imperial Guptas; and no less than seven inscriptions of these rulers are known to-day. All of them are dated in the Gupta era; and besides referring to the Gupta years, month and date, they refer also to a corresponding *Saṁvatsara*. Their dates are as follows:

1. Mahāvaiśakha in the Gupta year 156, the 3rd Lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārtika (Khoh Grant of Hastin).¹

2. Mahā-Aśvāyuja, in the Gupta year 163, the 2nd Lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month of Caitra (Khoh Grant of Hastin).²

3. Mahā-Jyeṣṭha in the Gupta year 170, the 5th Lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month of Phālguna. (Jabalpur Grant of Hastin).³

4. Mahā-Caitra in the Gupta year 191, 3rd Lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha (Majhagawan Grant of Hastin).⁴

5. Mahā-Aśvāyuja in the Gupta year 198, other particulars broken off (Navagram grant of Hastin).⁵

6. Mahā-Mārgaśīrṣa in the Gupta year 199, the 10th day of the month of Kārtika (Betul Grant of Saṁkshobha).⁶

7. Mahā-Aśvāyuja in the Gupta year 209 (Khoh Grant of Saṁkshobha).⁷

The *saṁvatsaras* mentioned here provide a good data to work out the positive date for the epoch of the Gupta era, if we could know the exact system of their reckoning.

1 CII., III, p. 93.

3 EI., XXVIII, p. 266.

5 EI., XXI, p. 124.

7 CII., III, p. 112.

2 Ibid., p. 110.

4 CII., III, p. 106.

6 EI., VIII p. 284.

It is believed that the *samvatsaras*, mentioned here are the Bārhaspatya or the Jovian years. For reckoning the Bārhaspatya *samvatsaras* or the Jovian years, there are two systems. One is the mean sign system of the Zodiacal signs, which was applied by A. Cunningham and some other scholars to four of these seven inscriptions (Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 7), that were known to them, to work out the epoch of the Gupta era. The other is the system of the Heliacal rising of the Jupiter, which was followed by J. F. Fleet in respect of the very four inscriptions for the same purpose. Scholars, using one or the other of these two systems, claimed that the dates proposed by them for the epoch of the Gupta era, satisfied the dates mentioned in these inscriptions.

Recently, while working for my forthcoming volume on the *Imperial Guptas*, I was bewildered to find, as a layman in the field of astronomy, that none of these two systems can be applied to the *samvatsaras* of these Parivrajaka inscriptions. Therefore, I place my observations about them to focus the attention of the scholars.

According to the Mean-sign system, the names of the Lunar months are given to each year in the same order as they are the months of the year, beginning from the Aśvāyuja (Āśvina) and they run recurring, without any break cycle after cycle for 84 or 85 years and then the name of a *samvatsara* is omitted for the reason that 85 solar years are very near to 86 Bārhaspatya years.

The dates given in the above inscriptions cover a period of 54 years beginning from the Gupta year 156 to the year 209. With the assumption that the year, which is expunged every 84th or 85th year, did not occur during this period, the *samvatsaras* for all the corresponding Gupta years during these 54 years, beginning with Mahā-Vaiśākha for the year 156, till the Gupta year 209, would be as follows:

	Cycles	Gupta year	Samvatsara
1.	I. (8)	156	Mahā-Vaiśākha
2.	(9)	157	Mahā-Jyeshṭha
3.	(10)	158	Mahā-Āṣāḍha

	Cycles	Gupta year	Samvatsara
4.	(11)	159	Mahā-Srāvaṇa
5.	(12)	160	Mahā-Bhādrapada
6.	II. (1)	161	Mahā-Aśvāyuja
7.	(2)	162	Mahā-Kārtika
8.	(3)	163	Mahā-Mārgaśīrṣa
9.	(4)	164	Mahā-Pauṣa
10.	(5)	165	Mahā-Māgha
11.	(6)	166	Mahā-Phālguna
12.	(7)	167	Mahā-Caitra
13.	(8)	168	Mahā-Vaiśākha
14.	(9)	169	Mahā-Jyeṣṭha
15.	(10)	170	Mahā-Āṣāḍha
16.	(11)	171	Mahā-Srāvaṇa
17.	(12)	172	Mahā-Bhādrapada
18.	III. (1)	173	Mahā-Aśvāyuja
19.	(2)	174	Mahā-Kārtika
20.	(3)	175	Mahā-Mārgaśīrṣa
21.	(4)	176	Mahā-Pauṣa
22.	(5)	177	Mahā-Māgha
23.	(6)	178	Mahā-Phālguna
24.	(7)	179	Mahā-Caitra
25.	(8)	180	Mahā-Vaiśākha
26.	(9)	181	Mahā-Jyeṣṭha
27.	(10)	182	Mahā-Āṣāḍha
28.	(11)	183	Mahā-Srāvaṇa
29.	(12)	184	Mahā-Bhādrapada
30.	IV. (1)	185	Mahā-Aśvāyuja
31.	(2)	186	Mahā-Kārtika
32.	(3)	187	Mahā-Mārgaśīrṣa
33.	(4)	188	Mahā-Pauṣa
34.	(5)	189	Mahā-Māgha

	Cycles	Gupta year	Saṁvatsara
35.	(6)	190	Mahā-Phālguna
36.	(7)	191	Mahā-Caitra
37.	(8)	192	Mahā-Vaiśākha
38.	(9)	193	Mahā-Jyeṣṭha
39.	(10)	194	Mahā-Āṣāḍha
40.	(11)	195	Mahā-Srāvaṇa
41.	(12)	196	Mahā-Bhādrapada
42.	V. (1)	197	Mahā-Aśvāyuja
43.	(2)	198	Mahā-Kārtika
44.	(3)	199	Mahā-Mārgaśīrṣa
45.	(4)	200	Mahā-Pauṣa
46.	(5)	201	Mahā-Māgha
47.	(6)	202	Mahā-Phālguna
48.	(7)	203	Mahā-Caitra
49.	(8)	204	Mahā-Vaiśākha
50.	(9)	205	Mahā-Jyeṣṭha
51.	(10)	206	Mahā-Āṣāḍha
52.	(11)	207	Mahā-Srāvaṇa
53.	(12)	208	Manā-Bhādrapada
54.	VI. (1)	209	Mahā-Aśvāyuja

Beginning with the Gupta year 156 as Mahā-Vaiśākha, we find that the above table ends with the Gupta year 209 having Mahā-Aśvāyuja as its corresponding *Saṁvatsara*, the same as mentioned in the Khoh inscription of Saṁkṣobha. The concurrence of the *Saṁvatsaras* of the beginning and the ending years of the above table with those given in the Parivrājaka inscriptions, shows, at the first sight, that there was no omission of any *Saṁvatsara* in between these years. It is natural, therefore, to expect that the remaining five years of the inscriptions and their *saṁvatsaras*, would also concur with the above table. But to our great surprise only two of the remaining five dates concur with the table. They are the years 191 (with correspon-

ding Mahā-Caitra) and 199 (with corresponding Mahā-Mārgaśīrṣa). The remaining three dates differ as follows.

Gupta year	<i>Saṃvatsara</i> (as in inscription)	<i>Saṃvatsara</i> (as per table)
163	Mahā-Aśvāyuja	Mahā-Mārgaśīrṣa
170	Mahā-Jyeṣṭha	Mahā-Āṣāḍha
198	Mahā-Mārgaśīrṣa	Mahā-Kārtika

To satisfy the date furnished by the inscriptions, the following adjustments would be necessary in the table:

(i) After the Gupta year 156 (with corresponding *saṃvatsara* Mahā-Vaiśākha) intercalations of two *saṃvatsaras* are necessary between the years 156 and 162, so that the year 163 could correspond with the *saṃvatsara* Mahā-Aśvāyuja.

(ii) The above intercalations would bring down the subsequent *saṃvatsaras* two stages down. This would give Mahā-Vaiśākha as the corresponding *saṃvatsara* for the year 170; whereas, according to the inscription, it should correspond with Mahā-Jyeṣṭha. This would, therefore, necessitate the omission of a *saṃvatsara* between the years 163 and 170.

(iii) After the above adjustment, the *saṃvatsaras* subsequent to Mahā-Jyeṣṭha, would come one stage down; therefore it would be necessary to omit again a *saṃvatsara*, in between the years 171 and 190 to let the year 191 correspond with *saṃvatsara* Mahā-Caitra.

(iv) Thereafter, an intercalation would be necessary between the years 191 and 198 to enable the year 198 correspond with the *saṃvatsara* Mahā-Aśvāyuja.

(v) And an omission of the *saṃvatsara* Mahā-Kārtika would also be necessary to let the year 199 correspond with the *saṃvatsara* Mahā-Mārgaśīrṣa.

The necessity of such adjustments in the above table leaves no doubt that the *saṃvatsaras* of the Parivrajaka inscriptions were not based on the Mean system of the Zodiacal signs, where only one *saṃvatsara* is omitted in every 84 or 85 years. Here we have an intercalations of two *saṃvatsaras* within one Cycle

(Cycle I) and then omission of two *saṁvatsaras* consecutively one in Cycle II and the other most likely in Cycle III. Then we have again an intercalation of a *saṁvatsara* in Cycle IV and then an omission in Cycle V.

These very facts also make it clear that the *saṁvatsara* mentioned in the inscriptions were also not based on the system of Heliacal rising of the Jupiter. In this system, a *saṁvatsara* is omitted in every cycle of 12 years without any exception. There are occasional intercalation of a *saṁvatsara* also; but then in that case two *saṁvatsaras* are omitted in the same Cycle. Here we do not find omission of a *saṁvatsara* in every cycle nor an intercalation of one and omission of two *saṁvatsaras* within a cycle.

The inscriptions show two intercalations in a cycle, then omissions in two consecutive cycles; then again an intercalation in a cycle without any omission and then an omission again in the next cycle.

This leads to irresistible conclusion, that the *saṁvatsaras* used in the Parivrājaka inscriptions are not Bārhaspatya or Jovian years, based on any of these two systems. It followed some third system, which we do not know. It is necessary to find out that system, which was followed in these inscriptions in computing the *saṁvatsaras*, before they could be of any use for the determination of the epoch of the Gupta era.

May we hope some scholar of astronomy would take trouble to find out the unknown system, by which the *saṁvatsara* mentioned in the Parivrājaka inscriptions were worked out?

PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA

Saka Year 1106

Kotera is a village, situated in the Balod tahsil of the Durg district of Madhya Pradesh. In the year 1882 (?), late Thakur Buddhusingh of that village found the present plate together with that of Mahārāṇaka Bhojadeva (śaka year 1126) buried in the ground. Both the plates were acquired and presented by the S. D. O., Balod to the Mahant Ghasidas Memorial Museum, Raipur.

The plate is inscribed on one side only. It is 16 cms broad and 8.3 cms. high. Its weight is 139 grms. The corners of the plate are rounded off. The inscription consists of 8 lines and is in a good state of preservation. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is corrupt Sanskrit and the record is in prose throughout. As regards orthographical peculiarities, we notice the substitution of s for ś in lines 1, 2 and 4.

The inscription refers to the reign of Mahārāṇaka Malugideva who was a parama-māheśvara. It is a business document executed between Nāyaka Rāmadeva (or Vāmadeva) and Nāyaka Śrī-Varaka. The former purchased a village called Kāpaśī from the latter, for which an amount of 1120 Āchhus (coins) was paid. The witnesses for the transaction were Gaintā Solaga and Thākura Vāsudeva. Royal officers who were present on duty when this transaction was made, included the Store Keeper General Śrī-Devaśarman, Banker Sāvadhānta, Haḍapavāla Kāi and Paṇḍita Kondu.

The inscription is dated in the Śaka Year 1106 and mentions the month of Pauṣa corresponding to December 1184 or January 1185. It does not give the genealogy of the ruling king probably because it is a business document and not a royal grant. The title of Mahārāṇaka used with the name of the king however suggests that he was a feudatory chief and acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kalacuris of Ratnapura. His Kalacuri overlord may be Ratnadeva III, who was son of Jagaddeva and nephew of Jājalladeva II and was ruling from Ratnapura in the

Kalacuri Samvat 933 or A.D. 1181-82 as known from his stone inscription fixed in the wall of the Lakhaneśvara temple at Khared (Bilaspur district).¹

Malugideva can be identified with his namesake mentioned in the Māṇḍava Mahal Inscription of V. S. 1406 or A.D. 1349 which records the construction of a Śiva temple by his grandson Rāmacandra of the Phaṇi or Nāga varṇśa. From the same inscription, we further know that Malugideva was a grand-uncle of Bhoja who was succeeded by the former's son, Lakṣmaṇa. The copper plate inscription of Mahārāṇaka Bhojadeva, found together with the present plate, is dated in the Śaka year 1126 corresponding to A.D. 1204.² This suggests that the present Balod sub-division of the Durg district was included in the Nāga kingdom of Kawardha during the time of Malugideva and passed to Bhojadeva, in succession.

As stated above, Malugideva belonged to the Phaṇi or Nāga dynasty of Kawardha, Madhya Pradesh, which is described in the Māṇḍava Mahal Inscription³. The inscription which is dated in Vikrama Samvat 1406, gives the legend of the origin of the Nāgavarṇśa and mentions not less than twenty-four kings born in that family. One of them named Bhuvanaikamalla is said to have constructed a temple of Śiva, apparently the same as the present Bhoram Deo temple near village Caura, about 18 kms from Kawardha. Bhuvanaikamalla was an uncle of Malugideva and great-grand-father of Bhojadeva. The date of the construction of the Bhoram Deo temple should, therefore, be about 1140 A. D. and not 1280 A. D. as suggested by Dr. Sant Lal Katore⁴ whose opinion was mainly based on the statement of the Māṇḍava Mahal inscription that two generations of rulers intervened between Rāmacandra and Bhuvanaikamalla.

1 Mirashi; *C.I.I.*, vol. IV, part II, No. 100, pp. 533 ff.

2 This plate is edited by me in a separate paper.

3 Hiralal, *List of Inscriptions in C. P. & Berar* (2nd Edn), No. 305, pp. 174-177.

4 *IHQ.*, Vol. XXXVI, Nos. 2 & 3, page 90.

According to the date given in the Maṇḍava Mahal inscription, Rāmacandra, grandson of Malugideva constructed a Śiva temple in 1349 A. D. In view of the fact that Malugideva was ruling in A. D. 1184-85, the accuracy of the genealogy and the date as given in the above-mentioned inscription is rather doubtful.

The ancient village of Kāpasī is represented by the present village of the same name which is situate in Patawari circle No. 11, in the Balod tahsil of the Durg district. It is 5 kms from Kotera, the find-place of the plate and about 25 kms from Balod.

TEXT⁵

- 1 अ०⁶ खस्ति । छाके⁷ सर्वत्⁸ ११०६ पौषमासे अयेह समस्तराजाव-
- 2 ली [ज] यविराजमानपरममाहेस्वर⁹ महाराणक-
- 3 श्रीमन्मलुगिदेवविजयराज्ये ॥ महाप्रधानभंडगा-
- 4 री¹⁰ श्रीदेवर्ष¹¹ । पुरधृष्टि¹² सावधान्तः । हडपवालकां-
- 5 इ¹³ । पंडित कौटू एतस्मिन्¹⁴ समये वर्तमाने ॥ ना-
- 6 यक रामदेव¹⁵ ।¹⁶ नायकश्रीवरकयोः । कापसीप्रा-
- 7 मं गृहीतं ग्रामोपरि दत्त पत्र ? आ लु १२२०¹⁷ एत-
- 8 दर्थे । सा [क्षि] गैता सोलग । ठकुर वासुदेव ।

BALCHANDRA JAIN

- 5 From original plate and my ink-impression.
- 6 Expressed by a symbol.
- 7 Read शाके or शके
- 8 Read संवत्
- 9 Read परममाहेस्वर
- 10 Read भाण्डागारी
- 11 Read देवशर्मा
- 12 Read ध्रेष्टि
- 13 Read कहि
- 14 Read एतस्मिन्
- 15 Or वामदेव
- 16 This daṇḍa is useless.
- 17 Figures are not clear ; may be 920 also.

Five copper-plates of the Pāla kings of Bengāl have the following verse: —

*Dēse prāci pracura-payasi svaccham = āpiya toyaṁ
svairam bhrāntvā tadannu Malayopatyakā-candaneṣu/
Kṛtvā sāndrais = Maruṣu jādātām sīkarair = abhra- tulyāḥ
Prāleyādrehḥ katakam = abbajan yasya senā-gajendrāḥ ||*

As the verse is applied not only to the assumedly weak ruler, Vighrahapāla II but also to Gopāla II, Vighrahapāla III and even to Mahīpāla I, who is regarded by many writers as the second founder of the Pāla empire, it has to be, as pointed out by Aparna Banerji (*IHQ.*, XXXII, p. 54), regarded as eulogistic in its import. But we cannot agree with her in concluding that Malaya of its line 2 is Malayabhūmi or Malebhum of Nepāl, the reason for this being not only that sandal mentioned there is associated only with the Malayagiri of the south but also because the verse is describing the conventional *digvijaya* of the four quarters, the east, the south, the west and the north by a Pāla ruler.¹ His war-elephants begin their conquest with the water-abounding eastern quarter, then pass on to southern quarter where was situated the Malaya valley covered with sandal trees, cool the deserts of Western India with water drizzling from their trunks, and ultimately reach the Himālaya mountains which they occupy like clouds. No part of India thus remained unconquered. Obviously, such a description has to be treated as verbal bombast. But the exaggeration that it has should not prevent us from understanding the verse in the sense intended by its author, and seeing also that its Malaya could only be in the south, for otherwise this quarter would remain unrepresented in the *digvijaya*.

DASHARATHA SHARMA

¹ It is this idea of the *digvijaya* which explains why four different Pāla rulers were enamoured of this verse and transferred it to themselves, leaving other conventional verses to their predecessors.

Kālapriyanātha

It is well known to every Sanskritist that all the three dramas of Bhavabhūti were staged on the occasion of the journey to Kālapriyanātha. This deity is usually identified with Mahākālā of Ujjayini by the various modern scholars. But among them Dr. S. Ray has suggested to find a solution of the problem in the city Kālpi. In this matter, I think that only the word काल on one hand and कालप्रिया on the other, has misled them to their conclusions. Before coming to the controversy, I want to quote here first, the lines in which the word कालप्रियनाथ occurs:—

1. “अथ खलु भगवतः कालप्रियनाथस्य यात्रायां आर्यमिश्रान् विज्ञापयामि ।”

उत्तररामचरित

2. “भगवतः कालप्रियनाथस्य यात्रायामार्यमिश्राः समादिशन्त

महावीरचरित

3. भगवतः कालप्रियनाथस्य पुरतः प्रयोगेण प्रख्यापयितुमुद्यताः ।

मालतीमाधव

जगद्धर, an old commentator of मालतीमाधव, seems to be wise enough to observe that Kālapriyanāth may be some distinguished deity belonging to the territory of the poet: तद्देशस्यः कश्चिद्देवविशेषः ।

The recension of महावीरचरित, on which the commentary of वीरराघवाचार्य is based, has the reading as कालप्रियानाथ in the place of कालप्रियनाथ. But, while explaining the word he goes to affirm that कालप्रियनाथ एव तु प्रचुरः पाठः. Now, we have to start to examine if there is another process to disclose the meaning of कालप्रियनाथ. First, it is to be borne in mind that neither any कोष nor शिवसहस्रनाम has got this appellation of श्री शिव. On the contrary, कालप्रिय is reckoned among the 68 names of sungod in the Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa of स्कन्दपुराण. In the सृष्टिखण्ड of पद्मपुराण lord Śiva describes 21 names of सूर्य to षडानन, and there, the very name Kālapriya also occurs.

Moreover, as Shri Nagendra Nath Basu, in page 568 of the Hindi edition of his Bengali Viśva-koṣa, has affirmed and also from the evidence of Skanda Purāṇa, it is clear that this figure

of सूर्य was worshiped on the bank of river यमुना. While pointing out the qualities of हाटकेश्वर चैत the नागरखण्ड of स्कन्द पुराण informs us that there were three forms of सूर्य called मुरडीर, कालप्रिय and मूलस्थान :—

सूत उवाच—

तदान्यदपि तत्रास्ति भास्करलितयं शुभम् ।

यैस्तुष्टैर्लिङ्गु लोकेषु मानवो मुक्तिमाप्नुयात् ॥१॥

मुरडीरं प्रथमं तत्र कालप्रियं तथा परम् ।

मूलस्थानं तृतीयं च सर्वव्याधिविनाशनम् ॥२॥

तत्र संक्रमते सूर्यो मुरडीरे रजनी क्षये ।

कालप्रिये च मध्याह्ने मूलस्थाने क्षपागमे ॥३॥

×

×

×

मुरडीरः पूर्वदिग्भागे धरित्र्याः श्रूयते किल ।

मध्ये कालप्रियो देवो मूलस्थानं तदन्तरे ॥५॥

×

×

×

प्रतिज्ञया गमिष्यामि द्रष्टुं तद्देवतालयम् ।

मुरडीरं कालनाथं च मूलस्थानं च भास्करम् ॥४५॥

×

×

×

मुरडीरस्वामिनश्चैव मन्यत्कालप्रियस्य च ।

मूलस्थानस्य चान्यत्तु सत्पताकाविभूषितम् ॥७१॥

स्कन्द०, नागर खं० अध्याय ७३ ।

Now, there is no doubt about the meaning of कालप्रिय ; but the problem concerning the word Nātha still remains. Shri Nagendra Nath Basu opines that कालप्रियनाथ is an image of lord Śiva, founded by Kālapriya or sun god; but he does not give any proof in support of his statement. It must be observed that the view held by Shri Basu, is based only on the disjoining the compound as कालप्रियस्य नाथः. But the text, what I have quoted above and the other instances speak to the contrary.

In the place of कालप्रिया and मुरडीर, Kālanātha and Mundīrsvami is mentioned in the 45th and 71st śloka. There can be no

वप्री तत्पुरुष in मुरडोरस्वामी though कालनाथ has the option. According to श्रीसूर्य सहस्रनाम Kāla is a name of सूर्य:—

एकोऽनेकसूर्या कालः सविता समितिजयः ।

Then कालश्चासौ नाथः only this method of disjoining the compound should be adopted. And when, in the same text we see: “कालाश्रयः कालकर्ता, कालहा कालनाशनः” it would not be improper to disjoin the समास like this कालस्य नाथः कालनाथः. But the case of कालप्रियनाथ is different one. Here, like मुरडोरस्वामी (मुरडोरश्चासौ स्वामी), only कर्मधारय समास is to be sought.

Finally, I want to mention here, an uncontroversial evidence in support of my conclusion. In Kāle's edition of मालती माधव, various readings are given under foot-notes. There is a broken reading which runs thus:—

“कालप्रियनाथस्य सकलजगदेकवक्षुषो

विश्वात्मनः सूर्यस्य पुरतः !”

Now, from what we have noticed above let us conclude that:—“कालप्रियनाथ was a form of sungod, situated somewhere in आतर्त प्रदेश, a middle part of India, and all the plays of Bhavabhūti were staged at the festival of that distinguished deity.”

SHIVA SHANKAR AWASTHI

On the Interpretation of a passage of *Harṣacarita*

There is no doubt in the fact that some of the great works in Sanskrit contain a number of passages, the textual interpretation of which presents an unsurmountable difficulty to the scholars. The *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa stands no exception to this. Śaṅkara, the famous commentator of the *Harṣacarita*, in his commentary named Śaṅketa, calls the former 'unintelligible' ('durbodha'). It is but natural that the scholars should hold diverse opinions in the explanation and interpretation of some its passages which appear to be obscure in meaning.¹ Below is offered our suggestions regarding the text and interpretation of one of such passages. The passage in question runs as follows:—

दर्पात् परामृशन् नखकिरणसलिलनिर्भरैः समर-भार-सम्भावनाभिषेकमिव चकार
दिङ्नागकुम्भकूट-विकटस्य बाहु शिखर-कोपस्य वामः पाणिपल्लवः² ।

The passage in question has been translated by Cowell and Thomas in the following way:—

'His left hand proudly stroking his right shoulder, huge as a sky elephant's frontal hump, rained down upon it a

¹ Dr. R. C. Hazra has tried to explain some passages from the first *ucchvāsa* of the *Harṣacarita*. See his paper in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. 25, 1949, pp. 123-131.

² *Harṣacarita* (Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, 7th ed. Bombay, 1946) 6th *ucchvāsa*, p. 283. The reading is the same in S. D. Gajendragadkar and A. B. Gajendragadkar's ed. (p. 116) in Īśvarcandra Vidyāsāgara's ed. (p. 157) and in Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara's ed. prepared with a commentary named *Amalā* by his two sons Āśubodha Vidyābhūṣaṇa and Nityabodha Vidyāratna, 4th ed. Calcutta 1939, p. 609). In another edition of Jivānanda Vidyāsāgar (text only) the reading is 'Bāhu-śikharasya dakṣiṇasya' (Calcutta 1876, p. 151). According to A. A. Führer (edited with Śaṅkara's commentary, Bombay, 1909, p. 152), the reading is 'parāmṛśan' and 'Kośasya'. 'Kośa' and 'Kośa' has the same meaning. Führer has used eight manuscripts in preparing the text of the *Harṣacarita*, and the reading 'parāmṛśan' is found in three manuscripts. Śaṅkara, it is to be noted reads 'parāmṛśan'. The other reading as we have in four manuscripts used by Führer is 'Bāhu-śikharasya dakṣiṇasya vāmah'; but it should not be taken seriously.

torrent of rays from its own nails, as if to consecrate it for the entire prize of battle toils'³ and adds, 'the commentator takes Koṣa as an oath at an ordeal; but it seems here used as an expletive of 'Bāhudaṇḍa'⁴

Here the commentator is 'Sāṅkara who has remarked in his Sāṅketa परामृषन्नित्यर्थद् बाहुशिखरमेव कोषो दिव्यम् । उक्तञ्च कोषोऽन्नी कुब्जले-खड्गपिधानेयौख-दिव्ययोरिति कोषकारः ।

Profs. Gajendragadkar and Führer find fault with Sāṅkara and in their commentary named Vālabodhinī, they comment that नखकिरणान्येव सलिलनिर्म्मरास्तैः । दिङ्नागस्य दिग्गजस्य कुम्भकूटमिव गरुडस्थलशिखरमिव विकटं विशालं तस्य । बाहुशिखराण्येव कोषः कुब्जलं तस्य । कुब्जलाकारं पुष्टं बाहुशिखरमिति कोष-शब्देन सूचितम् । सङ्केतस्तु कोषोदिव्यमित्याह तन्नास्माकं चारुभवति⁵ ।

The Profs. translate the passage in the following way. "His left sprout-like hand, proudly stroking the bud-like peak of his (right) shoulder (bāhu-śikharam koṣam-iva), as broad as the projected part (kūṭa) of a quarter-elephant's temple, as it were consecrated (abhiṣeka cakāra), for the honour (sambhāvanā) of the responsibility of battle, with streams of water in the form of his nail rays"⁶ and further add in the note that 'the poet imagines that Rājyavardhana's right shoulder was being consecrated for war, the necessary water for the ceremony being supplied by the rays of the nails of his left hand which was stroking it.'

Although this explanation is much better than that offered by Sāṅkara still it seems that this also can hardly be regarded as satisfactory. Two points are not clear. The first is—Is there any necessity of water in the matter of consecration for war? and the second is 'why should after all right shoulder be consecrated for war?' The annotators seem to have failed to bring out its correct interpretation.

3 *Harṣacarita* translated by Cowell and Thomas, p. 174.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 174.

5 *Ibid.*, ed. by Ganjendragadkars, p. 116.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 229.

Mm. P. V. Kane's explanation is akin to that of the Professors. He seems to be inclined to take *koṣa* as bud.⁷ Like them he also holds that the poet fancies that 'the arm was bathed in the water (rays of nails) in order to honour it preparatory to undertaking the responsibility of a fight'. He has tried to interpret the term *koṣa* according to the commentator also. Śaṅkara, as we have shown, takes *koṣa* as ordeal. Mm. Kane says 'Before the ordeal, the person charged had to bathe (*abhiṣeka*)'. He cites a quotation from *Vyavahāramayūkha* in support of his statement. But he himself admits that with this sense all the words cannot be explained.

Thus we find that the scholars have not been able to reach an agreeable solution in respect of the meaning and interpretation of the aforesaid passage. Our opinion is given below.

According to the lexicons, one meaning of *koṣa* is the scabbard of sword. We think that that meaning of *koṣa* is appropriate here. A gallant warrior's best friend and weapon is his right arm. Rājyavardhana is famous for his heroic exploits and it is quite natural that vigour and prowess of his right arm would be compared with a sword. The *saṁāsa* is 'bāhoḥ śikharam tat koṣam iva'. Thus the right arm being beautifully compared to a scabbard, shows that it is full of vigour and enthusiasm. So, in the next line, although it is mentioned that he was actually carrying a scimitar in his right hand, it is not contradictory with this beautiful poetic comparison of the arm with a scabbard. The thing is this that hearing unprecedented calamity of his dear sister Rājyaśrī (i.e. her husband Grahavarman was killed and she was thrown into a prison), Rājyavardhana flew into rage and at once made up his mind to wage war against the king of Mālava and smash that devil incarnate into pieces. He did not require the help of some others in his imminent war but trusted his right arm which was the ripe source of danger to the enemies. His left

7 *Harṣacarita*, ed. by MM. P.V. Kane, p. 131

arm was, as it were, the 'abhiṣeka udaka' of the sword like right arm. But this needs fuller explanation.

It was a customary practice of the kings to consecrate their 'āyudha' and 'vāhana' (weapons and vehicles or carriages) before their march against an enemy. We have the evidence of the *Agni-purāṇa* in our support. It expressly lays down the following injunctions:—

षष्ठ्ये हि विजयस्नानं कर्तव्यं चाभिषेकवत् ।
यात्रा-दिने सप्तमे च पूजयेच्च त्रिविक्रमम् ॥
— नीराजनोक्तमन्त्रैश्चायुधं वाहनं यजेत् ।
पुरयाहजयशब्देन मन्त्रमेतन्निशामयेत्⁸ ॥

Translation:—On the sixth day (before march), like consecration, a king should take his victory bath and on the seventh day, he would pay homage to the three foot-steps of Viṣṇu and worship the *weapons* and vehicles or carriages, with the help of those mantras prescribed for the 'Nīrājana Vidhi' and would hear the following mantras along with the 'puṇyāha jaya sound')

The Nīrājana is done to enhance the prowess of the kings. Its 'prakriyā' is found elsewhere in that Purāṇa. It is as follows:—

नीरजनविधिं वक्ष्ये ऐशान्यां मन्दिरं चरेत् ।
... ..
पुरोधो जुहुयादाज्यं समित्सिद्धार्थकं तिलाः ॥
... ..
कुम्भा अष्टौ पूजिताश्च तैः क्षाप्याश्वगजसत्तमाः ।
विक्रमेयुस्ततः सर्वे राजलिङ्गं गृहे यजेत्
पूजिता राजलिङ्गाश्च कर्तव्या नरहस्तगाः ।
हस्तिनं तुरगं छलं खड्गं चापं च दुन्दुभिम् ॥
ध्वजं पताकां धर्मज्ञं कालज्ञास्तुमभिमन्त्रयेत् ।⁹

It is stated elsewhere in the same Purāṇa that 'On the second day, when there will be war, the elephant, horse etc. should be consecrated with water and Lord Nṛsiṃha should be worship-

8 *Agnipurāṇa* (Bibliotheca Indica), 235. vs. 15-16. *Vaṅgavāsi* edition, 236, v.s. 15-16=Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition 235. 15-16.

9 *Agnipurāṇa*, (*Vaṅgavāsi* edition) ch. 238. v.s. 16-26.

ped'.¹⁰ Thus it is obvious that in Nirājana ceremony, consecration with water is absolutely necessary. This is supported by further evidence of the *Brhatsamhitā* of Varāhamihira and the *Kālikā-purāṇa*. The *Brhatsamhitā* in clear term states that 'consecration of the horse and elephants of auspicious signs is necessary. After their bath they should be worshipped with unwashed or new white clothes, scent, garland and dhūpa'.¹¹ This is further corroborated by the evidence of the *Kālikā-purāṇa* also. The necessary lines from the *Kālikā-purāṇa* are quoted below in support of our contention.

शाखामौदुम्बरीमाघ्री' स कुशानि च वटोदके ।

आप्लाव्याप्लाव्य तुरगान् राजा भूपं च सैनिकान् ॥

रथांश्च सम्पृशेन्मन्त्रैः शान्तिकैः पौष्टिकैस्तथा ।

सेचयेत् सहितैर्विप्रैश्चतुरङ्गं पुरोहितः ॥¹²

Thus taking all evidence into consideration we find that a king has to consecrate his armour, weapons, vehicles and carriages before he starts for victorious march against the enemy.

This passage of the *Harṣacarita* refers to Rājyavardhana's great wrath and his strong will to march against the miscreant. He depended on his sword-like right hand only in this matter like all true gallant warriors. Before march he consecrated it with torrents of water as was necessary, in the form of rays sprouted from the nails of his left hand.*

ASOKE CHATTERJEE

10 *Ibid.*, (Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition) ch. 235. v.s. 24.

'dviṭīyehani saṃgrāmo bhaviṣyati yadā tadā

snāpayed ṣajam-aśvādi yajed devaṃ nṛsiṃhakam'.

11 'Lakṣaṇauktaṃ turagaṃ dviradavaraṃ caiva dikṣitaṃ snātaṃ āhata-sitāmbara-gandha-srag-dhūpavya-arcitaṃ kṛtvā āśrama-toraṇa-mūlaṃ samupanayet'—*Brhatsamhitā* (Bibliotheca Indica) ed. by Dr. H. Kern, ch. 44 vs. 15, pp. 200-201 = ed. by Panchanan Tarkaratna. p. 92 Attention of the scholar is drawn also to vs. 28 of the same chapter.

12 *Kālikāpurāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī edition) ch. 85. vs. 53-54.

* Paper read in the XXth Session of All India Oriental Conference at Bhuvaneswar.

A Newly Discovered Inscription of Sāmanta Singh of Mewar (Rajasthan)

During my exploratory tour in Gogūndā tehsil of Udaipur District (Rajasthan) I noticed the inscription, under reference, of Sāmanta Singh, the Guhil Ruler of Mewar, of dated V.S. 1224, Sunday, the fourth of the bright half of Caitra.

This inscription is found in the temple of Ghaṇṭā Mātā,¹ north east of Udaipur (Mewar), incised on a black stone slab, measuring 0.4. inch × 0.1 inch.

As regards its orthography the letters, engraved, are rectangular. Two circular dots (close to each other) with a small curve under them, having its face open on the left upwards, (ॐ) are used to denote short i (इ). In the mātrā of short i (इ) the vertical line on the left of the letter at the lower end comes downwards on the right (ँ). For the Mātrā of e (ए) besides the form, having a slanting line, raising upwards on the left, from the vertex of letter, (ँ) a vertical line on the left of the letter is also used for the same (॥). For the Mātrā of o (ओ) besides the form having a slanting line, raising upwards on the left from the vertex of a vertical line on the right of the letter, (ँ) two vertical lines on the respective sides of the letter are also used for the same (॥). The text is in incorrect Sanskrit.

This inscription clearly states that Rathoḍa Mahughana, son of Vihad, constructed the temple of Ghaṇṭā Mātā in Rohiṇi Nakṣatra. Mohaṇ, Cāhaḍa and Vihada are the builders of the temple. Some names which are obscure in the sixth line, seem to be the geneological members of the Sutrādharma whose name, as referred, is Lakhmaṇa, son of Dhaval. Place, mentioned in it, is Kheḍa. Kaṇṭhailā is not very clear but it seems the hill top (Kaṇṭha) of the earth (ilā).

The inscription, under reference, correctly determines the ruling period of Sāmanta Singh. Dr. Ojha on the basis of the

¹ This temple is located at a distance of two miles from the village Jaswantgarh on the main road of Kotrā. The distance from Udaipur City to this temple is about 30 miles.

two inscriptions,² dated V. S. 1228, of the village Jagat in Chapan Zila (Mewar) and 1236 of the village Solaja in District of Dunderpur, has assigned his ruling period from V.S. 1228 to 1236 while this inscription of Ghanṭā Devī pushes back his date by four years. Hence the period of the commencement of his rule should be corrected from the V.S. 1228 to 1224.

The text reads as follows: —

- 1—॥ ओं ॥ संवत् १२२४ चैत्र सुदि ४ रवि दिने रोहिणि न
- 2—क्षत्रे सौभाग्य जोगे श्रीघंटावि देव्या प्रासाद श्रीमहार
- 3—जाधिराज श्रीसावंत सिंघ विजय राज्ये(न) राठवड विह
- 4—ड सुत महुघण कारापितय । मोहण कंठइला घटादेवि
- 5—चाहड विहडा (अ) ष्टिका षेड स्थाने सूतधार धवल सुत
- 6—लषमणे नअरहड सुत कु (व) राजिय

RAM CHANDRA RAI

² History of Rajputana, Vol. 1, p. 145.

II. A REVIEW OF THE OPINIONS OF DIFFERENT SCHOLARS

126. The statements contained in paras 59 to 125 are sufficiently clear to indicate the viewpoints of the different scholars in regard to the antiquity of Vedic literature. In the following pages, it will first be examined how far the criticisms levelled against J. and T. by W. and Th. are justified in regard to what the former two scholars have stated, and then find out whether the views of J., T., and B. are correct.

Views of
scholars.

A. ANALYSIS OF WHITNEY'S VIEWS

(a) Fulfilment by Tilak of Whitney's conditions

127. It has been pointed out before that W. admits the main thesis of T., viz., that "in the earlier times, the asterismal system began with Kṛttikās instead of Aśvinī."¹ This is however only a part of T.'s thesis. The other part, viz., that the ancient Indo-Aryans had knowledge of an older series with Mṛgaśīras at its head, is not admitted by W.² In respect of Kṛttikā-series, he denies that the Indo-Aryans were its discoverers. He strongly speaks against the astronomical knowledge of ancient Indo-Aryans and declares that they borrowed a true astronomical science only from the Greeks so late as first century A.D. W. emphasises that the Indo-Aryans can claim no credit for the different early systems indicating their antiquity.

Whitney admits the main thesis of Tilak, viz., that Indo-Aryans had knowledge of Kṛttikā-series but denies its Indian origin.

128. After disposing of what he thinks to be the main thesis of T., in the aforesaid way, W. refers to the important passages of the *Taitt.-Saṃ.* and *Tāṇḍya-Br.*,—important because they contain evidence as to the antiquity of Vedic literature. The passages deal with the time when the year-long Sattrā, the Gavām-ayana, is to commence. Of the four different dates given,³ T. picks up, according to W., two, viz., Citrā full-moon and 4 days before the full-moon of Māgha (which W. thinks to be the full-moon of Caitra). These dates are stated to indicate the time of composition of the *Taitt.-Saṃ.*, but W. is of opinion that the required data for establishing validity of T.'s views have not been supplied. He therefore finds no reason for accepting them unless three specific data⁴ mentioned by him were supplied. These are being examined now.

Different times for the ceremony of consecration in the year-long Sattrā, Gavām-ayana.

1 See para 85.

2 See para 83.

3 See para 85.

4 See para 86.

Datum 1 : Sattra is the counter-part of the year

129. It should be pointed out at the outset that W.'s statement that T. lost sight of Sattras other than Gavām-ayana etc. which lasted for different durations is not justified. For, T. warns his readers beforehand that his remarks are all applicable to year-long Sattras only, meaning thereby that they are not to be applied to other Sattras of which he had knowledge. "The idea of a sacrifice extending over the whole year may be safely supposed to have originated in the oldest days of the history of the Aryan race."

Tilak was not ignorant of Sattras of different durations.

130. Sattra sacrifice in a particular form was the reflection of the year, says T. In this connection, he quotes p. 48 from Haug's Introduction to his edition of the *Aitareya-Bṛāhmaṇa*. "The *Satras*, which lasted for one year, were nothing but an imitation of the sun's yearly course. They were divided into two distinct parts In the midst of both was the *Vishuvan* i.e. the equator or the central day, cutting the whole Satra into two halves."² On this T. remarks: "When this course of sacrifices was thus completed, it was naturally found that the year also had run its course."³

Tilak, and Haug on Sattra as counterpart of the year.

131. An analysis of the component parts of the Sattra called Gavām-ayana⁴ is given below to show how it was the counterpart of the year.

Names of components	Duration
(1) Prāyaṇīya (introductory) Atirātra or opening day	1 day
(2) Caturviṃśa day. It is Agniṣṭoma or some sacrifice accompanied with <i>Uktihas</i> [eulogistic verses—all the stotras being in Caturviṃśa stoma (metre)]. It is also called <i>Ārambhanīya</i> (<i>Ait.-Br.</i> , IV, 12) or <i>Prāyaṇīya</i> (<i>Tāṇḍya-Br.</i> , IV, 2). This is the real beginning of the Sattra	1 day
(3) A group of rituals covering 5 months, each month consisting of 4 Abhiplava Śaḍahas and 1 Pr̥ṣṭhya Śaḍaha	24 days 6 days
	30 days
So 5 months=30×5.....	150 days

1 Tilak, *The Orion*, p. 14

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 12

3 *Ibid.*, p. 12

4 "There are many annual *Sattras* like *Ādityānām-ayanam*, *Āṅgirasām-ayanam*, *Gavām-ayanam* etc., mentioned in the *Bṛāhmaṇas* and *Shrauta*

	(4) 3 Abhiplavas i.e.	18 days	} 28 days which, with the 2 opening days at the beginning, complete the 6th month of 30 days	
	and 1 Prṣṭhya i.e.	6 days		
	(5) Abhijit day	1 day		
	(6) Svāra-sāman days	3 days		
				180 days
The rituals (1) to (6) come in the reverse order for the subsequent 180 days.	(7) Viṣuvat			
	(8) Svāra-sāman days = 3 days		} 28 days, which with the 2 concluding days make the 7th month of 30 days	
	(9) Viśvajit day (prepared with all the Prṣṭhyas)	= 1 day		
	(10) 1 Prṣṭhya i.e.	6 days		
	and 3 Abhiplavaṣ i.e.	18 days		
	(11) 4 months			
	each month consisting of			
	1 Prṣṭhya Ṣaḍaha	= 6 days	}	
	4 Abhiplava Ṣaḍahas	= 24 days		
		30 days		
	4 months = 4 x 30			120 days
	(12) 3 Abhiplava Ṣaḍahas	= 18 days	}	
	1 Goṣṭoma	= 1 day		
	1 Āyusṭoma	= 1 day		
	Daśarātra	= 10 days		30 days
	(13) Mahāvratā day			
	corresponding to Caturviṃśa day			
	Agniṣṭoma	= 1 day	}	included in (9) and (10)
	(14) Udayaniya (concluding)			
	Atirātra	= 1 day		
				180 days

Total 360 days (i.e. the whole year¹)

Sūtras: and as observed by Dr. Haug, they seem to have been originally established in imitation of the sun's yearly course. They are the oldest of the Vedic sacrifices, and their duration and other details have been all very minutely and carefully noted down in the sacrificial works. All these annual *Satras* are not, however, essentially different from each other, being so many different variations or modifications, according to circumstances, of a common model or type, and the *Gavām-ayanam* is said to be this type." Tilak, *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, p. 193

1 The above chart has been prepared substantially in accordance with that given by T. in his *Arctic Home in the Vedas* (1903), p. 208. Cf. *Satapatha-Br.*, (SBE), pt. 2 (1885), p. 427, and pt. 5 (1900), p. 139, fn. (Tr. by J. Eggeling); *Rgvedic Brāhmaṇas*, (Tr. by Keith), (containing Aitareya-Br. and Kauṣ.-Br., p. 6). The *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* contains the opinion that by holding the session called *Gavām-ayana*, they also hold *Ādityānām-ayana* (IV. 17).

The above analysis shows that all the days of the lunar year prevalent at the time were filled up with one or other part of the sacrificial activity. So when T. stated that the sacrifice and the year were synonymous he had aforesaid details in his mind.

132. The year has been identified with the Sattrā in various *Brāhmaṇas*. For instance, (a) the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* describes the sacrifice called Sattrā as identical with year. It states that the different parts of the Sattrā are related to the different parts of the year.

“Now they proceed to the Caturviṃśa¹ day in the beginning, by it they grasp year, consisting of 360 days. The introductory Atirātra is this side, and the concluding Atirātra the other side of the year. Śaḍaha consists of four sets of six days each, the first six representing six seasons, the first and the second set representing a year etc.”²

(b) The *Kauṣī.-Br.* refers to the way the year is to be obtained, and identifies it with the sacrifice:

“The Atirātra is undertaken to obtain the year; Caturviṃśa being the beginning of the year is an agniṣṭoma which is the beginning of the sacrifice, and the year contains twenty-four half months and 360 days; and by performing the abhiplava the sacrificers mount the year.”³

(c) The *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* calls the year the deity to whom sacrifice is offered.⁴ Another name of the year is Sattrā. “The year indeed is man.”⁵ The different parts of the ‘man’s body are compared to the different parts of the Sattrā, and thus the Sattrā is equated to the year.

133. It is clear from the foregoing instances that it cannot be denied that the year-long Sattrā was called the counter-part of the year. So the first datum of W. (see para 86) is established.

Gavām-ayana is counterpart of the year.

1 Sacrifice accompanied with eulogistic verses, which were in Caturviṃśa Stoma (metre) and were recited on that day.

2 Keith, *Rgvedic Brāhmaṇas* (1917), s. v. *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, IV. 12; IV. 14; IV. 16; pp. 206-8

3 *Ibid.*, s. v. *Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa*, XVII. 5; XIX, 8; XX. 1; pp. 412, 454 457; Cf. XX. 2-4, pp. 458-460

4 Eggeling, *Śatapatha-Br.*, (S. B. E.), pt. 5, XII, I. 1. 1; 1.3.9 pp. 135, 141, etc.

5 *Ibid.*, XII, 2. 1.1; 2. 4. I; 3, 2, 1; pp. 144, 160, 168 etc. पुरुषो वै संवत्सरः ।

Datum II: Viṣuvat stands for a point attached to the Equinox

134. Anybody, following the component parts of *Gavām-ayana* (para 131), will find that item No. 7, the Viṣuvat, is placed after 180 days, just in the middle of 360 days, but no day is allotted to the same. It is therefore reasonable to infer Viṣuvat to be only a point and not a day.

The following extract from the *Śatapatha-Bṛāhmaṇa* shows how agitated the ancient Indo-Aryans were at one time over the nature of Viṣuvat.

तदाहुः यद्वा दश मासाः संवत्सरस्याथैतदहरत्येति यद्वैषुवतमवरेषामेतात् परेषामित्यवरेषां चैव परेषां चेति ह ब्रूयादात्मा वै संवत्सरस्य विषुवान्ज्ञानि मासा यत् वा आत्मा तदज्ञानि यत्नो अज्ञानि तदात्मा न वा आत्मान्ज्ञान्यतिरिच्यते नात्मानमज्ञान्यतिरिच्यन्त एवमु हैतदवरेषां चैव परेषां च भवति ॥ XII. 2. 3. 6

अथ वा अतोऽहमभ्यारोहः प्रायणीयेनातिरात्रे णोदयनीयमतिरात्रमभ्यारोहन्ति चतुर्विंशेन महाव्रतमभिप्लवेन परमभिप्लवं पृच्छ्येन परं पृच्छ्यमभिजिता विश्वजितं खरसामभिः परान् खरसाम्नोऽथैतदहरनभ्यारूढं यद्वैषुवतमभि ह वै श्रेयांसं रोहति नैनं पापीयानभ्यारोहति य एवमेतद्वेद ॥ XII. 2. 3. 10

"As to this they ask, 'Seeing that there are the twelve months of the year, and that one day, to wit, the Viṣuvat, is in excess, does that belong to those (months) that go before or to those that follow.' Let him say, 'Both to those that go before and to those that follow; for Viṣuvat is the body (trunk) of the year, and the months are its limbs; and where the body is, there are (or that includes) also the limbs, and where the limbs are, there is also the body; and neither is the body in excess of the limbs, nor are the limbs in excess of the body; and thus indeed, that (day) belongs both to them (months) that go before and those that follow.'" XII, 2, 3. 6

"And in this way, indeed, there is an ascent of days:—by means of the opening Atirātra, they ascend the concluding Atirātra, by means of the Caturviṃsa the Mahāvratā, by means of Abhiplava a subsequent Abhiplava, by means of Prṣṭhya a subsequent Prṣṭhya, by means of Svara-Sāmāns the subsequent Svara-Sāmāns, but that one day is not ascended, to wit, the Viṣuvat," XII 2. 3. 10¹

1 Keith also admits that "The middle day, the Viṣuvant, divides it (i.e. Sattrā) into two halves", but does not explain how. See his *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, I, p. 350

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135. As stated above, the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* leaves no room for doubt that Viṣuvat divided the year into two halves.

Viṣuvat divided the year into two halves.

The question arises, whether Viṣuvat divides the particular day, to which it is attached, into two halves. T.'s opinion is in the affirmative. He states: "Now, as *Viṣhuvan* literally means the time when day and night are of equal length, if we suppose the year to have at the time commenced with the winter solstice, the *Viṣhuvan* or the equinoctial day could never have been its central day, and the middle day of the *Satra* would correspond, not with the equinoctial, as it should, but with the summer solstice.....But if *Viṣhuvan* was thus the central day of the year, the year must have once commenced with the equinoxes."¹

136. The passages quoted above indicate that Viṣuvat belongs to both the halves (each of 180 days) of the *Satra* or the year, instead of belonging exclusively to one or the other half. If so,

Viṣuvat is only a point attached to the central day.

then the Viṣuvat must be attached to the last day of the first part consisting of 180 days, and the first day of the next part consisting of 180 days.

Now, according to the context, one order of the sacrifice is finished on the completion of the 180th day, and the reverse order of the same begins immediately afterwards and is finished like the first order on the 180th day. So, in point of fact, Viṣuvat cannot be a whole day or even part of a day, but is a point attached to a particular day, the central day. This is the reason why the *Śatapatha* or other *Brāhmaṇas* do not put a day for Viṣuvat, even though at the time of mentioning it they call it Viṣuvat day.

As to the position occupied by Viṣuvat as a point, W. has correctly placed it between "180 days of ceremonies in a certain order preceding it and 180 days of the same in a reverse order following it."² In other words, Viṣuvat is that point which falls after the last 12 hours of the first 180 days and before the first 12 hours of the following 180 days. In that case, it makes the day portion and the night portion of the day to which it is attached equal. Therefore, Th.'s assertion that "Viṣuvat day is simply the central day of the sacrifice wherever that day may fall"³ is

¹ Tilak, *The Orion*, p. 21

Viṣuvat=having or sharing both sides equally.—Mon.-Williams, *Dict.*, p. 998

² *IA.*, 1895, p. 367

³ *Ibid.*, p. 96

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without any foundation. Viṣuvat indeed is equinox, in which day and night are equal.

Datum III. Determination of the commencement of the year in Vedic times

137. When weighing the divergent views of scholars on the commencement of the year in Vedic times, it should be remembered that they differed as to the extent of astronomical knowledge of the ancient Indo-Aryans. W. and Th. on the one hand held that their astronomical knowledge was meagre and that the little of astronomy left by them is replete with inaccuracies. J. and T. on the other hand maintained a contrary view, attaching much importance to the findings of the ancient Indo-Aryans in this respect. This was supported by B.

Divergent views of scholars on year-beginning.

138. The rites and ceremonies in Vedic times bear evidence to the fact that there was a vigilant priestly class who engaged themselves throughout the year in a meticulous observation of the course of the sun, the moon and the Nakṣatras. In this way they settled the appropriate and auspicious moments and periods for the sacrifices and other religious ceremonies. The welfare of the society as also of the individuals was the object that could thus be achieved.

139. The twelve months that constituted a year had two sorts of names, according to the *Brāhmaṇas*. One set was as follows: Madhu-Mādhava (Phālguna-Caitra), Śuci-Śukra (Vaiśākha-Jyaiṣṭha), Nabhas-Nabhasya (Āṣāḍha-Śrāvaṇa), Isa-Ūrja (Bhādra-Āśvina), Sahasa-Sahasya (Kārttika-Agrahāyaṇa), Tapas-Tapasya (Pauṣa-Māgha).¹

The twelve months in Vedic times.

Another set of names is based on a principle that prevails even to this date. It is concerned with naming each month after a particular Nakṣatra when the same was seen as the background of the full-moon. The months were thus named after the 12 Nakṣatras followed in each case by the term Pūrṇamāsaḥ—Phalgunī, Citrā, Viśākhā, Jyēṣṭhā, Āṣāḍhā, Śrāvaṇā, Bhādrapadā, Āśvinī, Kṛttikā, Mṛgaśīras, Puṣyā, and Maghā. T. states that "months in the Hindu calendar receive their names from the full-moon nights occurring in them."²

1 *Taitt.-Sam.*, IV. 4.11.1

2 *The Orion*, p. 76. The month begins with full moon, according, to T.

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The second set of names of the months is more frequently used in the *Brāhmaṇas*. This was due to the fact that gradually the Nakṣatras came to occupy a more and more important place in the life of ancient Indo-Aryans.

140. The *Ṛgveda* speaks of Nakṣatras in general terms in more than one place. The 27 Nakṣatras on the ecliptic along the course of the sun around the earth were closely observed by the ancient Indo-Aryans. In sacrifices, in commencement of the study of the Vedas, in marriage ceremonies, and in rites connected with war, the Nakṣatras were consulted.

Below have been given the names of 27 Nakṣatras for facility of reference.¹

141. Some of the 27 Nakṣatras are mentioned with modified names in the *Ṛgveda*. They are

The Nakṣatras
in the *Ṛgveda*.

- (1) Arjunī (i.e. Phalgunī),
- (2) Aghā (i.e. Maghā),
- (3) Tiṣya (i.e. Puṣyā),
- (4) Mṛga (i.e. Mṛgaśīras) and
- (5) Ahirbudhnya (i.e. Bhādrapadā).

Examples:

सूर्याया वहतुः प्रागात् सविता यमवासजत ।

अघासु हन्यन्ते गावोरर्जुन्योः परि उह्यते ॥

Rv., X. 85. 13

The dowry of Suryā (sun, as feminine) was sent by Savitṛ (Sūryā's father) on the occasion of her marriage. At the Aghā, the cows were killed, at the Arjunī, she (the wife) is led round the fire.

प्र तद्विष्णुः स्ववते वीर्येण मृगो न भीमः कुचरो गिरिष्ठाः ।

यस्योरुषु तिष्ठु विक्रमेष्वधिच्यन्ति भुवनानि विश्वा ॥

Rv., I. 154. 2

1 (1) Aśvinī, (2) Bharanī, (3) Kṛttikā, (4) Rohinī, (5) Mṛgaśīras, (6) Ādrā, (7) Punarvasu, (8) Puṣyā, (9) Aśleṣā, (10) Maghā, (11) Pūrva-Phalgunī, (12) Uttara-Phalgunī, (13) Hastā, (14) Citrā, (15) Svātī, (16) Viśākhā, (17) Anurādhā, (18) Jyēṣṭhā, (19) Mūlā, (20) Pūrva-Āṣāḍhā, (21) Uttara-Āṣāḍhā, (22) Śravaṇā, (23) Śraviṣṭhā (Dhaniṣṭhā), (24) Satabhiṣaj, (25) Pūrva-Bhādrapadā, (26) Uttara-Bhādrapadā, (27) Revatī.

There are verses in the *Ṛgveda* treating of Nakṣatras and of natural phenomena generally, such as Uṣā, Saramā, etc.

That Viṣṇu is glorified, who by his prowess is (in) the dreadful Mṛga, (in) the lower region. In Viṣṇu's three paces all the worlds abide. (Cf. *Rv.*, I. 161. 16 ; X. 86)

Besides the aforesaid 5 Nakṣatras, there is no mention of any other in the *Rgveda*. For this silence, it would be incorrect to infer that the ancient Indo-Aryans had no knowledge of the remaining Nakṣatras. There is a Purāṇic story that the Moon had 27 Nakṣatras as his wives and that he spent one day in a month with each of them. This statement has resemblance to the remark contained in the following Rgvedic verse:

अथो नक्षत्राण्येषामुपस्थे सोम आहितः ॥ X. 85. 2

Then Soma, the moon, is placed in the lap of the Nakṣatras.

The verse does not indicate the number of Nakṣatras but it cannot be denied that it refers to a cluster of same.

142. Only 12 out of 27 Nakṣatras along the ecliptic have been selected in the *Brāhmaṇas* for attaching names to 12 months of the year. These are: Phalgunī, Citrā, Viśākhā, Jyeṣṭhā, Āṣāḍhā, Śravaṇā, Bhādrapadā, Āśvinī, Kṛtikā, Mṛgaśīras, Puṣyā, and Maghā. 27 Nakṣatras are thus divided into 12 groups, each having one of the above Nakṣatras at its head, and containing $2\frac{1}{4}$ Nakṣatras on an average.

A complete revolution of the moon around the earth in a month crosses the 27 Nakṣatras or 360° . Each Nakṣatra therefore covers $360^\circ \div 27 = 13\frac{1}{3}^\circ$. Hence each group of $2\frac{1}{4}$ Nakṣatras extends over $13\frac{1}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ or 30° .

This interval of 30° can now be measured in terms of years. According to modern astronomy the annual rate of the Precession of the Equinox is $50\cdot23$ seconds, which means that the precession takes 72 years¹ to cover 1° . Therefore each group of $2\frac{1}{4}$ Nakṣatras will take (72×30) or 2160 years, approximately 2000 years, to run a course of 30° . The passage through a whole degree has been found by astronomers to be variable. So the duration of a

1 See J.'s Supplementary Table in para 77. See also para 125 fn. for Schram's opinion as to the variability of the passage of a Nakṣatra through a degree.

Nakṣatra group or of a Nakṣatra epoch may be more or less than 2000 years. In J.'s Table, 78° is allotted to each group, making the complete circle possible in 2340 years.

143. Both W. and Th. did not obviously comprehend the Vedic method of computing seasons of a year, and erroneously thought that mention of 3, 5, 6 and 7 seasons¹ in the *R̥gveda* was without any foundation. Viewed in the light of the explanation given by T., the ancient Indo-Aryans are found to have taken cognition of the fact that the number of seasons changed according to circumstances. T. states

The reason why the number of seasons in the *R̥gveda* is differently stated to be 3, 5, 6 and 7.

that their original home had only three major climatic changes for which they reckoned three seasons—Himā, Varṣā, and Śarad—in a year, each being 4 months approximately, and that as they advanced towards and within India, they were more and more in contact with further changes in the climate which led them to renumber the seasons at 5, viz., 3 seasons mentioned above plus Grīṣma, Vasanta. This however inconvenienced them, because a division of the 12 months of a year by 5 leaves a fraction of a month behind. So, at the next stage they took to division of the year into 6 seasons, all of equal duration. They are those named before as well as Hemanta in between Śarad and Himā. Afterwards, it was found that as the year was lunar and consisted of 360 lunar days, it fell short of the full solar year i.e. (366 solar days), by 12 days, to be added to converted 354 solar days of the lunar year. The means adopted at first for bridging the gap was an addition of 12 days after the lapse of each year, as has been shown in the treatment of R̥bhus in a previous para.² In course of time this was given up, and 30 days were added to every two and half years. This intercalated month was considered to constitute the 7th season.

144. It has been stated above that epochs named after particular Nakṣatras were recognized during the Vedic period. Thus Punarvasu-series, Mṛgaśīras-series, Kṛttikā-series, etc. meant only that Punarvasu, Mṛgaśīras, Kṛttikā, etc. were successively the heads of the 27 Nakṣatras. The change of leadership of the Nakṣatra-series

¹ W. States: "With their customary looseness in regard to such matters the ancient Hindus reckoned three, or five, or six, or even seven seasons in the year".—*IA.*, 1895, p. 363

² See para 31.

synchronised with the end of one Nakṣatra epoch and the beginning of another.

145. One term has been repeatedly used in Vedic literature, viz, *mukham*, to express leadership, whether of the Nakṣatras, or of the seasons, or of the months in a year. To state that a particular Nakṣatra was *mukham* (नक्षत्राणां मुखम्) is to signify the leadership of that particular Nakṣatra over the 27 Nakṣatres. Similarly, to call a particular month or season *mukham* of the year means that it was first of the months and seasons respectively of the year.

146. T. states that there are many passages in the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā*, the *Taittirīya-Bṛāhmaṇa*, and other works "where the Kṛttikās occupy the first place in the list of the Nakṣatras."³ Many of these passages have been dealt with by the scholars. They point to the fact that Kṛttikā was the leader of the Nakṣatras at the time, and it was Kṛttikā epoch.

Kṛttikās are not mentioned in the *Rgveda* obviously for the reason that the period of the composition of the *Rgveda* ended long before the Kṛttikā-epoch. There are references to Mṛgaśīras at several places in the *Rgveda*—for instance, the hymns on the Rbhus, and on Vṛṣākapi.

There is a number of mentions of Kṛttikās as the head of the Nakṣatra-series in the *Bṛāhmaṇas*. This fact led T. to point out that the references to Kṛttikās as *mukham* were not accidental. Hints are available in the *Rgveda*, pointing to the prevalence of Mṛgaśīras epoch. In dealing with the Rbhus in a previous paragraph (19), it was pointed out that the story of the Rbhus found in the *Rgveda* establishes that the year commenced with the vernal equinox in Canis Major. For facility of reference, the translation of the passage, *Rv.*, I, 161. 13 is given below: "Oh Rbhus! you were asleep; therefore ask Agohya⁴ who is it that woke us up. The He-goat⁵ declared the hound to be the awakener. As the year

1 *Taitt.-Saṃ.*, IV. 4. 10: कृत्तिकाष्वग्निमादधीत....मुखं वा नक्षत्राणां यत्कृत्तिकाः ।

One should consecrate the (sacred) fire in Kṛttikās.....Kṛttikās are the mouth of the Nakṣatras.

2 *Taitt.-Br.*, III. 1.1.6 and I. 5.1, 2

3 Tilak, *The Orion*, p. 39

4 One who cannot be concealed i.e. the sun.

5 The word used is वन्तो meaning he-goat (the sun).

is passed, you declare the same." The hound mentioned above is none other than the Canis Major of the constellation Orion (Mṛgaśiras). It is clear from this extract that the *commencement of the year synchronises with the appearance of Mṛgaśiras in the sky.*

Moreover, in the Vṛṣākapi hymn¹ (Rv., X. 86), a reference to Mṛga or Mṛgaśiras is found in verse 22, the translation of which by T. is as follows: "Oh mighty Vṛṣākapi! when you rising upwards (or rather northwards) would come to (our) house, where would that great sinner Mṛga be? Where he, who misleads² people, would go?"³ Here Vṛṣākapi is identical with the sun at the autumnal equinox and Mṛga with Mṛgaśiras. This was the commencement of the Mṛgaśiras epoch.⁴

147. It is now clear that when a change in the leadership of Nakṣatras took place it was observed by those who were in charge of year-long sacrifices, and that some of the results of these observations are reflected in Vedic literature. This required a regular and prolonged observation of the heavens. The 4 different dates for the Initiation Ceremony of Gavām-ayana are to be taken as prevalent in different Nakṣatra epochs, and not in one.

148. T. states:—"All our measurements of time are directly based upon the changes in the positions of heavenly bodies. But there is no measurement of time, at present determined, which is longer than the period during which the equinoxes complete their revolution in the ecliptic. It is, therefore, the best measurement of time for determining the periods of antiquity, only if we have reliable records about the position of heavenly bodies in early days. Fortunately, such records of the time, when the Hellenic, the Iranian and the Indian Aryans lived together, have been preserved for us in the R̥gveda...Commencing with the passages in the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā and the Brāhmaṇas, which declare that the Phalgunī full-moon was once the new year's night, we found that Mṛgaśhiras was designated by a name which, if rightly interpreted, showed that the vernal

Tilak explains the significance of year-beginning with Phalgunī and Citrā full moons.

1 See para 35. T. has successfully attempted to show that the hymn on Vṛṣākapi and that on the Ṛbhus demonstrate the familiarity of ancient Indo-Aryans with the Mṛgaśiras-series.

2 This means that at sunrise the Mṛga can no more be seen as it goes out of view in sunlight.

3 See para 39.

4 See para 42.

equinox coincided with that asterism in oiden times. This was, so to speak, a sort of corroborative evidence of the truth of the statement in the *Taittiriya-Sanhitā*. A reference to the figure will show at a glance that if the sun be at the winter solstice on the Phalguni full moon day, the moon to be full must be diametrically opposite to the sun and also near Phalguni. Uttarā Phalguni will thus be at the summer solstice and the vernal equinox will coincide with Mrigashiras. With the solstice in Maghā, the equinox will be in the Krittikās; while when the Uttarāyaṇa begins in Pausa, the equinox is in Ashvinī. Ashvinī and Pausa, Krittikās and Māgha, and Mrigashiras and Phālguna are thus the correlative pairs of successive year-beginnings depending entirely upon the precession of the equinoxes; and the facts, statements, texts, and legends,...supply us with reliable evidence, direct and indirect, of the existence of all these year-beginnings, in the various periods of Aryan civilisation.”¹

Following the *Taitt.-Sam.* which records another year-beginning with Citrā full-moon, T. compares it with Phalguni full-moon and finds that vernal equinox would be at Punarvasu.² T. remarks that “the traces of such period which we can discover in the sacrificial literature and especially the express mention in *Taittiriya-Sanhitā* that the Chitrā full-moon once commenced the year are, in my opinion, sufficient to prove the existence of such a calendar in the primitive days.”³

149. It is now evident from the foregoing paras 129 to 148 that T. has supplied the data for proper interpretation of the passages from the *Taitt.-Sam.* and *Tāṇḍya-Br.* These are

Tilak supplies evidences for proving the 3 data as demanded by Whitney.

(1) Sattrā reflects the year.

(2) Viṣuvat, as a point, is attached to a day, the bright portion of which is equal to the dark portion, and is therefore an equinox (in which the day and the night are equal).

(3) The only cogent explanation of year-beginning at 4 different dates as described in the *Taitt.-Sam.* and *Tāṇḍya-Br.* lies in the fact that they were recognised as such in different Nakṣatra epochs.

¹ Tilak, *The Orion*, pp. 199, 200

² *Ibid.*, p. 200

³ *Ibid.*, p. 205

(b) Jacobi's statement justified

150. In criticising J.'s contention that the *Brāhmaṇas* fixed the year-beginning at Uttara-Phalgunī, W. states that the *Brāhmaṇas* had no pretence to such astronomical exactitude as would draw a line between the former and the latter Phalgunīs.
- Jacobi states that year-beginning at Uttara Phalgunī and year-end at Pūrva Phalgunī are warranted by Vedic literature.
- According to him, the ancient Indo-Aryans were not very particular in choosing the month from which the year was to begin, and there was no fixed month for the purpose. This is the reason why different dates of year-beginning are found in the *Taitt.-Sam.* and *Tāndya-Br.*¹

Apart from the arguments advanced by T. against this view, J. does not think that any month of the year was appropriate in the opinion of the ancient Indo-Aryans for commencement of the year. He has discussed this point while dealing with Frog song² of the *Ṛgveda* and Upākaraṇa ceremony mentioned in the *Sūtras*, arriving at the conclusion that there were three kinds of year-beginning in Vedic times. Of these, within the month of Phālguna, one year ends and the other year begins. So the line, lying between Uttara Phalgunī and Pūrva Phalgunī, divides the two consecutive years.

151. W. accuses J. of want of candour, because the latter has not openly stated that the ancient Indo-Aryans learnt about equinox from the Greeks or may be from the Chinese or the Arabians, and that they replaced Mṛgaśiras by Kṛttikās at the head of the Nakṣatra-series in imitation of the Greeks. W. has no hesitation in admitting the antiquity of the astronomical discoveries of Mesopotamia, China etc. but advises caution in regard to India.
- Whitney does not adduce any evidence that ancient Indo-Aryans borrowed their astronomical system from the Greeks.

W. does not deny that prior to the recognition of Aśvinī as the head of the Nakṣatra-series, the ancient Indo-Aryans had been familiar with Kṛttikās as the head of the series, but the Kṛttikā-system, according to him, was not an Indian invention. W. puts forward no evidence in support of this point.

¹ See para 80.

² See para 74.

Whitney's statement that non-mention of planets in the *Rgveda* implying Indo-Aryans' ignorance about them is not valid.

152. W. holds that as there is no mention of planets in the *Rgveda*, the Indo-Aryans were ignorant of same. This argument is invalid as no such inference can be drawn from silence.

B. WHY JACOBI AND TILAK'S VIEW SHOULD PREVAIL AGAINST THAT OF THIBAUT'S

153. An elaborate criticism of the view of J. and T. has been made by Th.,¹ the major portion of which is devoted to an examination of their theories on year-beginning.

Th. starts by explaining the texts of the *Taitt-Saṃ.* and *Tāṇḍya-Br.*, which he himself renders into English.² Th.'s remarks on the views of J. and T. as to the dates for the beginning of Gavāmyana have already been given. In the light of what J. and T. have said and also otherwise, Th.'s remarks are being examined now. According to Th., the year-beginnings as shown by T. are as follows:

- (1) The year begins with the full-moon of Māgha indicating summer solstice in Maghās agreeing with Kṛttikās as the head of the Nakṣatras, and with vernal equinox in Kṛttikā in 2350 B. C.³ during which time the above-mentioned two treatises were composed;
- (2) The year begins also with full-moon of Phālguna indicating occurrence of winter solstice in 4000 B. C.;⁴
- (3) The year begins also with the full-moon of Caitra indicating the winter solstice in 6000 B.C.⁵

154. Both J. and T. consider that the above-mentioned three dates point to different year-beginnings at different epochs.⁶ But this is not acceptable to Th. He wants it to be precisely proved that no alternative interpretation of the passages of the *Taitt-Saṃ.* and *Tāṇḍya-Br.*, other than the one given by T., is possible.⁷

Th. states that he will not be justified in dismissing altogether as impossible the conclusions reached by J. and T., as Vedic

1 *IA.*, 1895, pp. 85-100: "On some recent attempts to determine the antiquity of Vedic civilisation."

2 See para 88 for the translation of the passage.

4 & 5 See para 89.

6 See para 91.

3 See para 89.

7 See para 91.

Winter solstice in Śraviṣṭhā is the earliest limit for the date of the Vedas, according to Thibaut.

civilisation and literature might be considerably older than hitherto supposed. But this statement has been contradicted by Th. himself when he finally says that some astronomical data in Vedic literature do not warrant the fixation of the date of the Vedas previous to the time when winter solstice took place in Śraviṣṭhā (i. e. 1100 B. C.).

155. Th. then takes up a passage from the *Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa*, (XIX. 2.3),¹ because he thinks that if the passages from the *Taitt.-Sam.* and *Tāṇḍya-Br.* are not supplemented by the one from the *Kauṣ-Br.*, a proper interpretation of the former two passages is not possible. He further thinks that if this passage had not escaped the notice of T., a different conclusion regarding the antiquity of the Vedas might have been drawn.²

156. Th. reduces three different dates mentioned in the *Kauṣ-Br.* into two for beginning the Gavām-ayana.³ Instead of the Śukla-pratipads (the first day after the new moon) of the months of Pauṣa, Māgha, and Caitra, he considers those of Pauṣa and Caitra as acceptable, leaving out Māgha.⁴ He also states that the beginning of the first day of the light half (i. e. Śukla pratipad) and end of the last day of the dark half (i. e. amāvasyā) have each equal right to be called amāvasyā (new moon day).⁵ The consideration of the beginning of the Śukla-pratipad and end of amāvasyā being equivalent to amāvasyā is due to the fact that he thinks that strictness of terminology should not be expected from the *Brāhmaṇas*.

157. As to why Th. takes only two different dates and not three for the commencement of Gavām-ayana, the explanation given by him is this: In interpreting this portion of the passage from the *Kauṣ-Br.*, though he mentions the Śukla-pratipad as the beginning of Gavām-ayana, he adds 29 days to it before the real commencement of the sacrifice. These 29 days are necessary, according to him, for Dīkṣā (initia-

Thibaut takes help of the *Kauṣ-Br.* (XIX. 2.3) for proper interpretation of passages in the *Taitt.-Sam.* and *Tāṇḍya-Br.*

According to Thibaut there were two different dates for commencing the Gavām-ayana.

Thibaut adds 29 days to Śukla-pratipad of Pauṣa, but not to that of Caitra without giving any reason.

1 See para 92, where the original text and its translation have been given.

2 See para 92.

4 See para 94.

3 See para 93.

5 See para 95.

tion, 17 days) and Upasads, (12 days).¹ The sacrifice proper, says he, begins in Śukla-pratipad of Māgha, when the sun is said to be resting. Th. points out that this is winter solstice. In regard to Śukla-pratipad of Caitra he does not add 29 days for Dikṣā and Upasads, thereby the sacrifice has to take place within Caitra and not in the next month Vaiśākha. He does not explain why he adds 29 days in the case of Pauṣa and not in the case of Caitra. This is an inconsistency.

158. Th. thinks that the date for commencement of the Sattrā was shifted from Māgha to Caitra. He explains this by stating that the original intention of the ancient Indo-Aryans was to begin the Sattrā at winter solstice, but in course of time this was discontinued and was replaced by a new and more convenient beginning (as regards rain, cold, etc.) in Caitra. This explanation by Th. was necessary because otherwise he would have had to admit that the different dates for commencing the Sattrā pointed to their prevalence in different Nakṣatra epochs, which was opposed to his intention. Moreover, after stating that the Sattrā reflects the year in a previous portion of his arguments he now goes against his own opinion expressed before by saying that the beginning of the Sattrā had no connection with the commencement of the year at solstice.²

It is Thibaut's view that originally the year commenced at winter solstice, and that it was in Śraviṣṭhā.

Th. supports his conclusion by a reference to the passage quoted from the *Kauṣ.-Br.* (XIX. 2.3) and states that there is a definite remark in this important passage of the *Brāhmaṇa* implying that the winter solstice coincided with the new moon of Māgha.³ He believes that this indicates the date of the *Kauṣ.-Br.*, because the *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa* also speaks of winter solstice at the beginning of the bright half of Māgha. This was, according to him, no other winter solstice than the one in Śraviṣṭhā. On this ground, he places the *Kauṣ.-Br.* with the *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa* at the late date 1100 B.C. This statement is obscure because the solstice in Śraviṣṭhā is not winter, but summer solstice, six months apart from winter solstice in Māgha.

159. Th. then examines the passages of the *Taitt.-Saṃ* and *Tāṇḍya-Br.* to see whether it is possible to interpret them in an

1 See para 98.

3 See para 99.

2 See para 99.

4 See para 99.

Thibaut takes the 4 dates cited in the *Taitt. Saṃ.* and *Tāṇḍya-Br.* to belong to a period near to the *Kauṣ. Br.*

analogous way and thus connect them with a period, not distant from the *Kauṣ.-Br.*¹ He finds that the different dates for the Dikṣā of Gavām-ayana are only optional, being prevalent at one and the same time. The effect of this interpretation is to nullify the possibility of placing each of the

different dates at equinox for the performance of the annual Dikṣā of the yearly Sattrā in different Nakṣatra epochs, viz., Mṛgaśīras and Kṛttikāś, as warranted by the texts, and explained by J. and T., and supported by B.

160. Next, Th. explains what is meant by the words in the text, viz. that full-moon in Phalgunī is the mouth, i.e., the beginning of the year. This, or the closely related one 'the (month) Phālguna is the mouth of the year' occurs in numerous places of the *Brāhmaṇas*.

The *Jyotiṣa-Vedāṅga* is taken by Th. to be the guide to determine the date of the *Kauṣ.-Br.*, but no explanation is given as to why the *Jyotiṣa-Vedāṅga* should be considered as the determinant of the dates of the aforesaid Vedic treatises.

Thibaut tries to prove that Phalgunī full moon did not coincide with the vernal equinox.

The basis on which Th. works up his theory, viz., that for all time in ancient India, solstices were looked upon as marking the beginning of the year² does not bear scrutiny. He cites the

authority of the *Jyotiṣa-Vedāṅga* and *Kauṣ.-Br.* to prove that the day following the new moon is the date on which the Sattrā and therefore the year commenced. He tries to reconcile this with the full-moon mentioned in the *Taitt. Saṃ.* and the *Tāṇḍya-Br.* in a circuitous way. Attempts have been made by him to connect year-beginnings with the Cāturmāsya sacrifices and thereby to avoid the need for linking the year-beginning with the equinoxes. Th. next considers which of the three 4-monthly groups should be taken as the first one. In view of the fact that the *Brāhmaṇas* always mention Vaiśvadeva as the name for the first group of the three 4-monthly sets along with Phalgunī Pūrṇamāsaḥ (or Citrā Pūrṇamāsaḥ) indicating warm season, Th. concludes that the Cāturmāsya commenced in that season, and therefore Phālguna was called the mouth of the year in the *Brāhmaṇas*.³

1 See para 100.

2 See para 101.

3 See para 101.

In this connection, Th. refers to the passage from the *Kauṣ-Br.* quoted by him, to prove that the month or beginning of the year had no connection with vernal equinox. For, the new moon (amāvasyā) preceding Māghī full-moon mentioned in the aforesaid passage of the *Kauṣ-Br.* coincides, according to Th., with the winter solstice and the Cāturmāsya sacrifice in the full-moon was held a month and a half after the winter solstice, which Th. connects with the month of February (Phālguna). Thus there is a long gap between the winter solstice and the first day of the Cāturmāsya, which Th. looks upon as year-beginning.¹ The connection of year-beginning with equinox, on the other hand, as has been shown before, is coincident.

The fact that solstices by their characteristics are in a more favourable position to draw the attention of ancient Indo-Aryan observers does not necessarily indicate, as Th. opines, that the detection of the equinoxes by observation was for them an impossibility. On the other hand, the repeated minute observation of the heavens led them to many discoveries like the succession of one Nakṣatra epoch by another, the intercalary thirteenth month, etc. An analysis of the year-long Sattrā has shown that the ancient Indo-Aryans knew of 2 days in the Sattrā, in each of which the bright portion was equal to the dark portion or in other words the two equinoxes. His opinion that the ancient Indo-Aryans were not familiar with equinoxes is therefore untenable.

161. Equinoxes (Viṣuvat) are not mentioned in the *Rgveda*, nor are solstices in that Veda. Th. cannot argue validly that non-mention of equinoxes is indicative of want of knowledge of equinoxes on the part of the ancient Indo-Aryans. For this reason, Th. takes to Cāturmāsya sacrifice for an explanation of year-beginning in ancient times. But as J. has pointed out, this explanation is without any basis. The Cāturmāsya sacrifice is a combination of 3 sacrifices, each 4 months long.² It has already been shown that J. believes that three different kinds of years—Varṣā, Śarad and Himā—were prevalent in Vedic India, but these had nothing to do with the Cāturmāsya system which probably originated, according to J., in a later period.

162. The above observations, regarding Cāturmāsya etc., were

Introduction of Cāturmāsya sacrifice by Thibaut for explanation of year-beginning is unjustified.

1 See para 101.

2 See para 102.

necessary, says Th., for a proper understanding of the passages Thibaut believes that his observations re. Cāturmāsya were necessary for a proper assessment of different dates for commencing Gavām-ayana.

quoted from the *Taitt.-Sam.* and *Tāndya-Br.* bearing on the commencement of Gavām-ayana.

Th. interprets the mention, one after another, of four different dates for the said purpose in the two Vedic treatises as tantamount to the rejection of the first three dates and acceptance of the last.

The considerations that weighed with Th. in determining the commencement of the Cāturmāsya sacrifice which he equated with the commencement of the year are now applied by him to the commencement of Gavām-ayana. He finds that the last-mentioned date for Gavām-ayana, viz., that Phālguna or Caitra¹ tallies with the beginning of the first month of Cāturmāsya sacrifice, and points that out to be near a solstice as has been shown in a previous paragraph, the date being apart by about a month and half in case of Phālguna and by about two months and half in case of Caitra. About one more month has to be added if Caitra full-moon mentioned in the *Taitt.-Sam.* and *Tāndya-Br.* denotes the 7th of March. But here again there is a difficulty which lies in the fact that the lunar year (=354 days) is shorter than the solar year (=366 days) by 12 days. So if the Phālguna full-moon falls on the 7th February of a year, it will come 12 days earlier the next year, 24 days earlier the following year, and so on. Thus a position arises when no other alternative is left than to admit that the harmony between the lunar and solar year has to be maintained by intercalation of a month every two and a half lunar years.

163. Though Th. admits that equinox as well as solstice

Thibaut falsely thinks that the ancient Indo-Aryans placed Kṛttikāś at the head of the Nakṣatras at equinox, under the influence of Greek astronomy.

not mentioned in the *R̥gveda*, yet he says that no one should be misled to think that Vedic year started from equinox instead of from solstice. His assertion is that ancient Indo-Aryans placed Kṛttikāś at the head of the Nakṣatras at equinox in imitation of Greek astronomy. He however adduces no evidence in support of this contention, which cannot be accepted.

1 He has in mind '4 days before the full-moon' which is interpreted as 4 days before the full-moon of Caitra, whereas T. takes it as 4 days before the full-moon of Māgha.

As the lunar months are concerned with tithis, Phālguna Pūrṇamāsah may denote the first day of Phālguna or last day of same which may be in the beginning of Caitra.

164. In regard to Viṣuvat, Th. simply takes it to be the central day of Gavāam-ayana, meaning thereby that it may be any one day of the year with 180 days on either side. He is opposed to T.'s view that Viṣuvat indicated either of the equinoxes six months apart when day and night were equal, as marking year-beginning, without adducing adequate evidence.

As already pointed out before, T. in his description of the component parts of Gavāam-ayana, in accordance with the rules laid down in the *Brāhmaṇas*, shows that Viṣuvat would be attached to no other day than the one in which day portion is equal to night portion.

In view of the above consideration, Th.'s contention that T.'s interpretation of Viṣuvat is not supported by any authoritative texts falls to the ground.

165. A close examination of Th.'s arguments shows that he could not feel certain about the soundness of his opposition to the antiquity of the Vedas. He admits the possibility of Kṛttikās' coincidence with vernal equinox in 2300 B.C.,¹ when according to Th. an astronomical view different from that in the *Brāhmaṇa* period prevailed. He allows equinoctial beginning of the year in 2300 B.C., refusing the same in 1100 B.C. Th. states however that the *Taitt.-Sam.*, which contains several references to the Kṛttikās as the head of the Kṛttikā-series, cannot be taken to go as far as 2300 B.C., but should be placed about 1100 B.C., without assigning any reason.

166. It has been pointed out in para 158 that after comparing the *Kauṣ.-Br.* with the *Jyotiṣa-Vedāṅga*, Th. thinks that as both the treatises speak of a year-beginning just after amāvasyā, those treatises should be taken as belonging to the same period. He also states that the *Taitt.-Sam.* and *Tāṇḍya-Br.* belong almost to the same time. He however gives no reason for his inference.

Next he tries to reconcile the time for year-beginning as given in the *Taitt.-Sam.* and *Tāṇḍya-Br.* (viz. Ekāṣṭakā, full moon of Phālguna or Caitra, 4 days before the full moon) with that found in the *Kauṣ.-Br.* and *Jyotiṣa-Vedāṅga* (viz. the day after new

¹ See para 112 where the passage from the *IA.*, 1890, containing Th.'s opinion has been quoted.

moon or amāvasyā in Pauṣa, or Caitra). But he assigns no reason for such reconciliation and states in his conclusion that as the *Jyotiṣa-Vedāṅga* clearly refers to winter solstice taking place in Śraviṣṭhā, it must be the 12th century B.C. in which the event happened. He does not explain why he chooses Śraviṣṭhā instead of Puṣyā, and why the same date could be attributed to the *Taitt. Sam.* and *Kauṣ-Br.*

167. Th. agrees with T.'s view in the *Orion* (Chapt. III) that the ancient Indo-Aryans after laborious and prolonged observation determined the motion of the sun and the moon with reference to the 27 Nakṣatras. It is not easy to understand how, after this admission, Th. can state that there was a most confusing mixing up of constellations and division of the ecliptic.¹ His remark that the Hindus were well-versed in 'arithmetical calculation' loses its force by his denial of their power of accurate observation, for if the observation had been faulty, all calculations based on same would be necessarily incorrect. Th. himself admits that from very early times the Hindus were capable of devising a subdivision of the sun's and moon's path into 27 equal parts and of calculating correctly the places occupied in those parts by the two heavenly bodies.² Arithmetical calculation alone without the help of minute observation is not sufficient to enable the Hindus find out the place of the sun and the moon on the ecliptic, or intercalate the year to convert it into luni-solar, or correct the mistake of $\frac{1}{4}$ day in each year after every 40 years.³

168. Th. makes a categorical statement that 'no body disputes that observation was never a strong point of Hindu' astronomers.

Insufficient record of astronomical findings by ancient Indo-Aryans does not prove absence of workable knowledge of astronomy.

Not a single authority however is quoted by him as evidence Th. is a opinion that early Indo-Aryans did not appreciate the importance of systematic observation. That is why, states Th., they left no direct record of what they did or of the corrections made by them. This argument of Th., however, is based on weak grounds. For records might be lost, or destroyed by climatic and other natural causes, foreign invasions, fires, white ants, other pests, etc. Even

1 See para 114.

2 See para 115.

3 See para 31.

so, non-recording of happenings in itself does not constitute ignorance about them. Had Rgvedic literature completely silent about their astronomical findings, even then it could not be said that there were none. It is however not a fact that the *Rgveda* is silent on astronomical matters. It contains records of observation, implicitly or explicitly, regarding for instance length of the year, and the corrections made.

169. Th. does not keep to his first statement that the ancient Indo-Aryans observed the solstice rightly and counted the year beginning from there. He modifies it by adding that these observations were corrected only after the composition of the *Siddhāntas*, the product of Greek contact according to him. Th. states that had the ancient Indo-Aryans continued to make correct observations and for a number of years before this, they would have surely gained a proper notion of the length of the year. As it is they never had a right notion.

Thibaut wrongly infers that the ancient Indo-Aryans were unable to measure the proper length of the year.

The repeated mention of a year of 360 days in the *Rgveda* does not escape the notice of Th. Nor is he deluded to think that that was all the astronomical knowledge that the ancient Indo-Aryans possessed. He also finds that a year of 366 days was known to the *Jyotiṣa-Vedāṅga*, Garga, etc. His great regret is that these early astronomers never discovered the real length of the year, viz. 365½ days approximately. Th. has to take note that the *Rgveda* itself mentions a 13th month or the 7th season, which inevitably proves knowledge of ancient Indo-Aryans about intercalation. So he has to admit that they knew of solar year, but they did not know how to correct the small mistakes in it. A little reflection will show that Th. is mistaken. In paras 25 and 31 above it has been demonstrated that the ancient Indo-Aryans did know to convert the lunar year into luni-solar year, and that they actually corrected the error of ¼ day in each year after 40 years.

Th. cannot altogether deny that the ancient Indo-Aryans corrected mistakes in their reckoning of a year. But he finds only 'violent corrections', as distinguished from methodical and continued corrections which were not expected of a people who were incapable of following up a continual and minute observation of the heavens. Here, a pre-conceived notion about the inferiority of ancient Indo-Aryans in matters of astronomy takes hold of Th. and vitiates his arguments.

170. Th. speaks of advanced astronomical knowledge in the *The Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa* according to Thibaut contains evidence of advanced astronomical knowledge. *Kauṣ.-Br.* as compared to what is contained in the *Taitt.-Sam.* and *Tāṇḍya-Br.* He does not see that this contradicts his previous statement, viz. that all the three books—the *Taitt.-Sam.* *Tāṇḍya-Br.* and the *Kauṣ.-Br.*—are contemporaneous Th. maintains that the *Kauṣ.-Br.* definitely indicates a solstitial beginning of the year. He does not explain how this alone can be taken as an evidence of advanced astronomical knowledge. Admitting, on the one hand, that observation of equinoxes is more difficult and indicates an advanced stage of knowledge, he makes, on the other, a contrary statement to the effect that the '*Kauṣ.-Br.*', though speaking of solstitial beginning, must be considered to belong to a later and advanced age.

171. Th. relies on Varāhamihira, the famous Hindu astronomer, one who had made a survey of different Indian systems of astronomy. According to Th., Thibaut refers to Varāhamihira to prove Greek influence on ancient Indo-Aryan astronomy and late date of the *Taitt.-Sam.* all these systems could be classified into two broad heads: (i) those that were based on Greek astronomy, and (ii) those that were not superior to the *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa*. Th. finds that Varāhamihira was familiar with two positions only of the summer solstice,—one in his time and the other recorded in the *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa*. From this he concludes that the long interval of 1700 years between the two observations does not speak well of the skill of the Indo-Aryans, and he is led to believe that observations were not made satisfactorily in those times.¹ Apparently, the reason why Th. attaches importance to Varāhamihira is that he has in mind that Varāhamihira flourished in 600 A.D., and the 1700 years antecedent to that date take us to 1100 B.C., the time of origin of the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā*, *Tāṇḍya-Brāhmaṇa*, and *Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa*, according to him.

172. T. had already alluded to Varāhamihira in his *Orion*,² where he states that at the time of Varāhamihira, the vernal equinox coincided with the end of Revatī, the summer solstice being in Punarvasu, and that Varāhamihira distinctly refers, in two places, of his treatise, to the position of the solstices recorded by writers who preceded him:

1 See para 117.

2 See *The Orion*, pp. 35 ff.

अश्लेषार्धादासीयदा निवृत्तिः किलोष्णकिरणस्य ।

युक्तमयन् तदासीत् सांप्रतमयनं पुनर्वसुतः ॥¹

When the return of the sun took place from the middle of *Asleṣā*, it was then *rightly* the tropic. It now takes place from *Punarvasu*.—Varāhamihira, *Pañca-Siddhāntikā*²

In the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, III. 1 and 2, Varāhamihira mentions the same older position of the solstitial points.³

अश्लेषार्धादक्षिणमुत्तरमयनं रवेर्वनिष्ठाद्यम् ।

नूनं कदाचिदासीद्येनोक्तं पूर्वशास्त्रेषु ॥

सांप्रतमयनं सवितुः कर्कटकायं मृगादितश्चान्यं ।

उक्ताभावो विकृतिः प्रत्यक्षपरीक्षणैर्व्यक्तिः ॥⁴

From the middle of *Asleṣā*, the solstices (why not equinoxes?) began, *Dhaniṣṭhā* today takes place from the sun. What has been stated in the former *Śāstras* is not less. Now at *Karkaṭaka* from the sun and at *Mṛga* from another are the solstices. Let the readers ascertain for themselves by actual observation which of the two positions of the solstices is the correct one, whether the older position of the solstices or that given by the writer.

It is concluded by T. that at the time of Varāhamihira there existed works that placed the winter solstice in the beginning of (divisional) *Dhaniṣṭhā* and the summer solstice in the middle of *Asleṣā*. The above is corroborated by quotations from Garga and Parāśara. It appears that the system of commencing the year with the month of *Māgha* was once actually a custom. It corresponded with the above positions of the solstices. *Amara-siṃha* (I. 4. 13), *Suśruta* (I. 6) and *Vāgbhatta* (III. 2), and the *Mahābhārata* (*Anuśāsanaparva*, 167, 26-28) indicate that "winter solstice must have coincided in those days with the beginning of *Dhaniṣṭhā* as described in *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa*."⁵

173. T. considers the *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa* to be a reliable and

1 See Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. II. p. 387. The verse may now be found in Thibaut's edition of the work.—Tilak, *The Orion*, p. 35 fn.

2 Tilak, *The Orion*, p. 35

3 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 36 fn.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37

authoritative treatise on astronomy.¹ It gives the following positions of solstices and equinoxes:

Tilak on
the *Vedāṅga-
Jyotiṣa*.

1. The winter solstice in the beginning of Śraviṣṭhā
2. The vernal equinox in 10° of Bharanī
3. The summer solstice in the middle of Aśleṣā
4. The autumnal equinox in 3°20' of Viśākhā.

From the above data, modern astronomers have been able to calculate, according to T., that the solstitial colure occupied the position mentioned above between 1269 B.C. and 1181 B.C., according as the rate of precession is 50'' or 48·6'' a year.²

The question whether the above records are results of observation or are mere traditions is superfluous to T., for he is satisfied that ample confirmatory evidence is found in the Vedic works which must be dated much earlier than the *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa*.³

1 Tilak's remarks re. *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa* are worth quoting. "We need not, therefore, have any doubts about the authenticity of a work which describes this older system and gives rules of preparing a calendar accordingly. Now this is what the *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa* has done. It is a small treatise on Vedic calendar, and though some of its verses still remain unintelligible, yet we now know enough of the work to ascertain the nature of the calculations given therein."—*The Orion*, p. 37

2 *Ibid.*, p. 38

3 *Ibid.*, p. 39

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Ahraura Inscription of Aśoka

The inscription edited hereunder is of Aśoka and is said to have been discovered by Sri R. G. Pandeya, the Exploration Assistant of the Archaeological Survey of India, at Varanasi, sometime in 1961. The text of the inscription with interpretation and facsimiles was first published by Prof. Dr. A. K. Narain.¹ He deserves our congratulations. This inscription is engraved on one of the two flat tops of the hillock known as Bhaṇḍārīdevī hill in the village Ahraura in Mirzapur District. On the other top there is the temple of the deity Bhaṇḍārīdevī. The hillock is situated on the eastern side of the Varanasi-Ahraura main road. I visited the site in March 1962 and examined the inscriptions.

This inscription under study covers an area of 83 mm. in width (lower) and 120 mm. in height (proper left). There are altogether eleven lines. The individual letters in the first seven lines measure about 2.5 mm. in width, and 4 mm. in height, while those in the remaining lines are approximately 3.5 mm. in width and 6 mm. in height. A semi-circular-like portion of the rock has broken away at the top side of the inscription. Consequently, there are only, 4, 3, 8 and 8 letters respectively at the ends of the first four lines while the fifth line has got three and six letters respectively at the beginning and at the end, and there are five and

¹ *Bhārati*, Res. Bull. of the College of Indology, Varanasi, No. 5, Pt. I, 1961-62, pp. 1-9 and Pls. It has also been edited by Prof. MM. V. V. Mirashi (*ibid.*, pp. 125-140 with Pl.).

thirteen letters respectively at the corresponding places in the sixth line. Comparing the later part of the inscription one may be tempted to conclude that the slab thus broken away from the rock must have been sufficient to accommodate nearly 22, 20, 19, 17, 14, and 13 letters respectively in the first six lines. However, as the letters in these lines are smaller in size, it is likely that the number of letters, thus suggested, may be less than what was actually lost.

The characters of the inscription are early Brāhmī and are very neatly executed. The palaeography does not warrant any special remark, excepting that the horizontal stroke to denote *dirgha ā* in *āmmañ* (line 11) starts not from the middle of the vertical line of *a*, but from a little below, as we find in the Kushāṇa inscriptions. The language of the inscription, known as Māgadhī, follows, to some extent, the text of Sahasrām Edict of Aśoka. Regarding the grammar of the record, the following remarks may be made: the optional change of the medial *i* into *ī* is noted in *vadhisati* and *°satī* (lines 9 and 10); *r* is invariably substituted by *l*; the conjunct *ky* remains in *chakye* (lines 6 and 7) but *vy* becomes *viv* in *vivuthena* and *sy* becomes *sh* in [*Devānañpi*] *yesbā*² (line 1); *śm* becomes *m* in *āmmañ* (line 11); *e* denotes both Masculine Nominative Singular (e. g. *svage* in line 7) and Neuter Nominative Singular (e. g. *satīle* in line 11); and the medial *u* of the Third Person Ending of Imperative Mood is invariably lengthened (e. g. *palakamtu* in line 8).

The text of the inscription under review closely follows that of the other versions of the Minor Rock Edict I of Aśoka and mainly of Sahasrām copy. Because the text of these versions have been commented upon in detail by many scholars we confine ourselves to the following two special problems connected with this inscription, viz. (1) the restoration of the passages that are unfortunately lost; and (2) the interpretation of the last two sections of the text.

² Cf. Kalsi R. E. XIII, S. face, line 5.

The available part of the first sentence in the first line reads *pīyeshā*. Obviously the full expression is *Devānāmpīyeshā* [Sanskrit: *Devānāmpriyasya*] which is found in the Kalsi Rock Edict XIII, B, line 5, and which is corrected into *°pīyashā* by Dr. Hultzsch.³ The sixth case ending of the word reminds us of the first sentences of the Maski⁴ and Gujarrā⁵ versions of the Minor Rock Edict I where Aśoka is referred to by name. It is really very difficult to say what might have preceded this expression viz. *Devānāmpīyeshā*, introducing Aśoka. It is also equally difficult to infer what might have succeeded *ti*. None of the versions of the Minor Rock Edicts helps us in this matter. Consequently we are in the dark about the correct place of *ti* (Sanskrit: *iti*).

The tenth sentence reads: *esa sāvane vivuthena duve sapamñā lati-sati*, [Sanskrit: *idaṁ śrāvaṇaṁ (śrāvitam) vyushtena (mayā) dve śatpañchāśe rātri-śate*].⁶ Scholars disagree widely from each other in interpreting this passage. However the word *vivutha* [Sanskrit: *vyushta* from *vi+vas*, 'to be absent from home'] in the Instrumental Case and the absence⁷ of the word *vivuthā* as found in the Sahasrām copy,⁸ support the following translation: "This proclamation (was issued by me) being on tour (or living away from home) for 256 days."⁹

The next sentence, which is the last, reads: *āṁmaṁ cha Budhasa satīle ālodhe ti*. This appears to stand for the Sanskrit *āśmaṁ cha Buddhasya śarīraṁ ārūḍhaṁ* (i. e. *āropitaṁ*) *iti*, meaning, "And (this) body (i.e. figure) of the Buddha, made of stone, has been raised up (i.e. set up)." No doubt, the correct Prakritic equivalent for the Sanskrit *āśmaṁ* is *āmbaṁ*. Yet the

3 *CII.*, vol. I, 2nd Edn. p. 46 and note 4.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 174.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXI, pp. 209.

6 Cf. *CII.* (op. cit.), p. 171, note 3.

7 Cf. also the Gurjara version, Section XI.

8 Cf. also *CII.* (op. cit.) p. 259; *Ann. Bhand. Or. Res. Ins.* vol. X, pp. 263 ff.

9 Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXI, p. 209.

form *āmmaṃ* appears to be influenced by the local way of pronunciation.¹⁰ It is also to be borne in mind that the language of the “inscriptions and dialects belonging to Mahārāshṭra, Magadha and Śūrasena have characteristics other than those of the so-called Mahārāshṭrī, Māgadhī and Śaurasenī Prakrits.”¹¹

Taking the whole of the eleventh line as a single sentence, reading as *amṃam* what we have read as *āmmaṃ* and correcting the same into *amḃam* to get the Sanskrit equivalent *asmākaṃ* and explaining the word *salīle* in the sense of ‘relics,’ this line has been translated as follows: “Two hundred and fifty six nights (i. e. days) after having enshrined the relics of our Buddha; (or, two hundred and fiftysix nights (i.e. days) are over since the relics of our Buddha) were enshrined (by me).”¹² However, it is to be noted that the so far known Aśokan equivalent for Sanskrit *asmākaṃ*, is *aphākaṃ* and not *amḃam*. Moreover, there is neither a word nor a suffix¹³ to connect the word *ālodhe* with the expression *duve sapamṇā lāti-sati*. Again, to distinguish Gautama Buddha from the other Buddhas, like Buddha Konākama of the Nigālī Sāgar pillar Inscription, Aśoka uses, as far as we know, either *Sakyamuni*¹⁴ or *Bhagavat*¹⁵ as epithets of the former. We have yet to know the use of *amḃam* in the Aśokan inscriptions for the above purpose.¹⁶ And it is also doubtful whether the word *ālodhe* [Sanskrit: *ārūḍham*] can yield the meaning “enshrined”. Moreover, had Aśoka dated his Minor Rock Edicts in the date of issue counted from the day of enshrinement of relics of the Buddha, by him, it must have been quite natural for him to continue the same way of dating in his other inscriptions also, or

10 Cf. also the Prakrit forms of exclamation *ambo*, *auvo* and *ammo*. See D. C. Sircar, *Grammar of the Prakrit Language*, p. 92.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

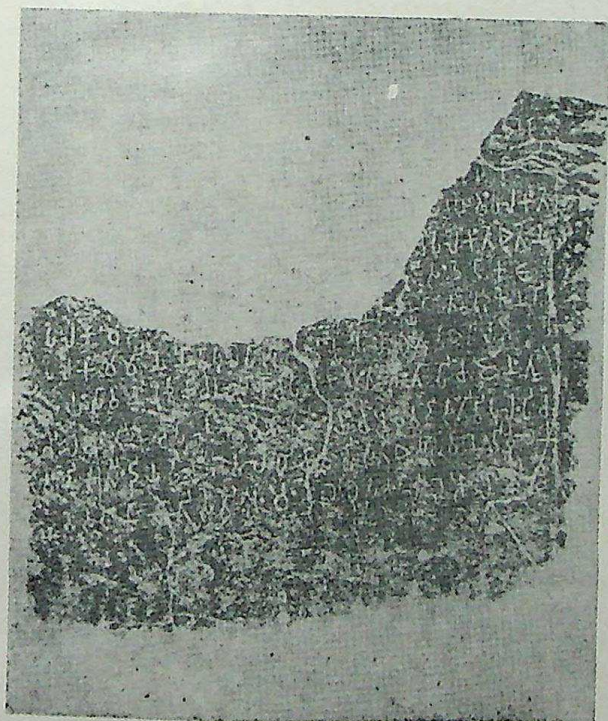
12 *Bhāratī*, op. cit., p. 9.

13 Cf. e. g. *tatā* (or *tato*) *pachhā* in Rock Edict XIII, Section C.

14 The Rummindei Pillar Inscription line 2.

15 Calcutta-Bairat Rock Inscription lines 3 and 6.

16 Cf. *Bhāratī*, op. cit., p. 6 and note.



ASOKA INSCRIPTION

at least in Rock Edict IV and the first two Barabar Hill Cave Inscriptions, all issued in his thirteenth regnal year, to which the Minor Rock Edict I also has been assigned.¹⁷

The eleventh sentence has also been taken to be the first reference to the erection by Aśoka of a *stūpa* over the relics of the Buddha. It is said that such erection was a memorable occasion, that occurred on the 256th day since the commencement of Aśok's *dharma-yātrā* and that he, therefore, has recorded it in all versions of his Minor Edict I.¹⁸ However, had it been the case, it is not easily explainable why Aśoka did not specify such a memorable enshrinement in other versions of the Minor Rock Edicts and why he did not refer to it in his Major Edicts which are supposed to develop the contents of the Minor Rock Edict.¹⁹

But according to the interpretation suggested by us above, there is no such difficulty. The setting up of the Buddha's stone figure had nothing to do either with Aśoka's tour, or with the main body of the *sāvana* or proclamation, recorded here or elsewhere. It appears that the local officer who was responsible for getting the royal proclamation engraved on what is now known as the Bhaṇḍārīdevī hill, must have got erected or carved out a figure of the Buddha with or without the knowledge of the emperor. He must have also added the last sentence to record such an erection. Similar local additions are not quite unknown in Aśokan inscriptions. For example, the section I of the Mysore Edicts has nothing to do with the *sāvana* originally issued by Aśoka, and this addition by the officers at Suvarṇagiri or at Isilā might not have been known to the emperor. The same may be the case with the labels below the Edict XIII on the Gīrnār Rock, below the elephant on the nor-

17 Dr. Hultzsch, *CII*, vol. I, p. xlv.

18 *Bhāratī* op. cit., p. 140.

19 E. g. Aśoka's tour for the propagation of the *Dharma* suggested by the word *vivṛta* is spoken of in the Rock Edict VIII, while his visit to the Buddhist *Saṅgha* expressed by *saṅghe upeta* or *upayāte* is well corroborated by the Calcutta-Bairat Rock Edict etc.

thern face of the Kalsi Rock and below the Edict VI on the Dhauli Rock.²⁰ Because of the fact that the local officer was responsible for the creation of the Buddha's figure on the Bhaṇḍārīdevī hill, this incident is not referred to in any other versions of the Minor Rock Edict I. The semi-circular like excavation above the inscription appears to support the possibility that some figure representing the Buddha might have originally been there and that, at a later stage, it was damaged and disappeared. It also appears that the figure was close to the inscription and that the first two lines viz. (1) *Dēvānaṃpiyeshā*, (2) *sādhikāni* were engraved on the proper left of it. This surmise may, to a little extent, reduce the difficulty of the problem of restoration of what might have preceded the extant portions on the first and the second line.²¹

The figure which has been suggested above was probably in the form of an elephant, representing the Buddha. It might have been carved out of the rock in small scale just like the bigger one on the top of the Dhauli Rock referred to as *seto* [Sanskrit: *śvetabḥ*] at the end of the Edict VI.²² It is also not altogether improbable that what is referred to as *Budhasa salile* might have been actual image of the Buddha himself, though it is difficult to say whether the figure represented the person of the Buddha, either as a divine being or as a Prince Siddhārtha or as an ascetic.²³ It appears that because of the fact that the wooden images of the Buddha were very much in vogue in the pre-Aśoka era,²⁴ the record under study distin-

20 It is also doubtful whether Aśoka knew about all these elephant figures.

21 However the difficulty of determining the proper place of it still exists to a great extent.

22 See *CII*, *op. cit.*, p. 92 and n. For the elephant figures, engraved to represent the Buddha, see *ibid.*, pp. 26 and 50.

23 Cf. E. B. Havel, *Indian Sculpture and Paintings* (2nd edition), pp. 94 and 97.

24 Hiuen-Tsiang tells us, more than once, how Udayana, the king of Kauśāmbi got an image of the Tathāgata carved out of sandal wood. (See *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, translation from the Chinese

guishes the stone image from them by adding an adjective *āśmām* [Sanskrit: *āśmām*], 'made of stone'. Again because the *Buddha-pādas*, or foot-prints of the Buddha, were worshipped much in the Mauryan age and they were also considered to represent the *Bhagavat*,²⁵ the author of the last sentence appears to have used purposely the word *salile* in preference to *paṭimā*, to have a clearer distinction of the bodily form from the symbolic foot-prints. It may be observed that the words like *vigraha* and *mūrti*, both synonyms of *śarīra* are often used to denote the representations of deities in their bodily forms. It is interesting to note that our inscription not only shows us the body of the doctrine (*dhammakāya*) of the Buddha but also suggests the existence of the body of stone too for the Blessed One.²⁶ If this explanation of ours holds good, this inscription may well be of unique importance for the history of Indian art as it sheds welcome light on the existence of the image of the Buddha during the time of Aśoka.

of Hiuen-Tsiang, by S. Beal, vol. I, pp. xx, 235-36; vol. II, pp. 4 and 322).

²⁵ See Cunningham, *The Stupa of Barbut*, pp. 11, 27, 90, 135-36 and Pl. XIV, XVI, LIV; Hiuen-Tsiang also speaks of Aśoka's daily practice of worshipping the Buddha's foot-prints on the stone, (see R. K. Mukerji, *Aśoka*, p. 60).

²⁶ Cf. *The Milindapañha* edited by V. Trenckner (1928), p. 73. Unfortunately, however, as Nāgasena teaches, now the Blessed One is no longer visible except in *dhamma-kāya*.

TEXT¹

- 1 (I) [piye]shā²
 (IA)ti³
- 2 (II) [sā]dhikā. .
- 3 ⁴(III) [na] cha bādham palakamte
- 4 (IV) ⁵cha palakamte (V) etena
- 5 [amta] ⁶misamdevā kaṭā
- 6 (VI) palakame[sa] (VII)⁷
 n[e]va chakye pāpotave khudakena pi
- 7 palakamamīnenā vipule pi svage chakye ālādhecave (VIII)
 etāye aṭhāye
- 8 iyaṁ sāvane khudakā cha udālā cha palakamamitū amtā
 pi cha jānamitū
- 9 chilāṭhitike cha palakamo hotū (IX) iyaṁ cha aṭhe
 vadhisati vipulaṁ pi cha
- 10 vadhisati diyaḍhiyaṁ avaladhiyā vadhisati (X) esa
 sāvane vivuthena
- 11 duve sapamānā lātisati (XI) ammaṁ cha Budhasa
 salile āloḍhe tioc⁸

S. SANKARANARAYANAN

1 From the rock and impressions.

2 ye is quite visible on the rock. The full expression can be restored as *Devānampiyeshā*, which Dr. Hultzsch has corrected into *°piyashā*.

3 See above p. 219

4 This can be restored as *sādhikāni adhatiyāni savachhalāni am upāsake sumi*.

5 This lost portion may be restored as *savachhale sādhike am sumi bakam saghe upete bādham*, following both Sahasrām and the Rūpnāth copies.

6 In Sahasrām Edict this part reads as : *etena amtalena Jambudīpasi ammisam-devā samta munisā*.

7 Read *palakamasa esa phale* and restore *no hiyaṁ mahata*.

8 The end of the record is denoted by a *ma*-like sign in horizontal position. This is a sign of *maṅgala* and it may be compared with the similar ones on the margins of the Separate Edicts on the Jaugada Rock.

Some Unidentified Rare Sculptures from Abicchatrā

(Now in the National Museum, New Delhi)

In the course of a systematic excavation of the terraced Śiva temple at *Abicchatrā* were discovered, along with numerous other finds, several large terracotta plaques depicting scenes from Hindu mythology. *Abicchatrā*, which is situated in the Bareilly district of Uttar Pradesh, was the capital of the ancient *Kuru-Pāñcāla* country. These finds have already been described in detail under the caption "Terracottas from *Abicchatrā*" in Ancient India No. 4, the annual bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India.

Manu Vaivasvata's Ascent to Heaven on the back of Earth-Mare.

One of these terracotta plaques, measuring 2 ft. 2 inches square, exhibits within a beaded panel a most remarkable scene the like of which has nowhere else been found in India so far. It shows a majestic figure riding a hybrid creature whose upper half is formed by a well-dressed young woman while the lower half is the hind part of a nicely caparisoned mare. The composite mount, half woman and half mare, is flying above the peaks of a mountain whose bleakness is partly relieved by a tall tree growing at the lower left corner.

The woman has on her head an elaborate trefoil coiffure decorated with a crescent-shaped crest in the centre. Her hair is arranged in curly masses falling over the temples. She wears a round jewel on the forehead, large ear-rings, a close-fitting torque studded with rectangular plaques and a single-stranded pearl-necklace (*ekāvalī*) on her breast. A long pearl-string encompasses the whole breadth of forehead in a concave curve and lends additional charm to the headgear. Other ornaments adorning her person include armlets (*keyūras*), bracelets (*dolā-*

valaya) and finger rings. A long folded scarf descends down her right shoulder and extends upto the border of the plaque above the tree. The other end of the scarf is seen fluttering behind the left elbow of the rider. The back of the equine half of the composite mount is provided with a fine cover (*paryānapaṭṭa*) and a broad side-girth (*kakṣā-bandha*) embossed with a medallion encompassing her flanks. The rapid movement of the mare over the mountainous terrain is vigorously shown by the artist. The calm, composed and feelingful facial expression and the amorous *tri-patāka* pose (*mudrā*) of the right hand, her left arm thrown round the male in partial embrace—all indicate her intense love for the royal rider. Being overwhelmed by the consuming passion she has closed her eyes to tide over the mental crisis.

Turning to the royal personage we find that he is majestically seated astride the strange female-busted mare. His head is crowned with a high tiara (*mukuta*) resplendent with a large hatched jewel as well as a *kīrtti-mukha* emitting pearl-strings (*muktā-jāla*) from the corners of its mouth. His ears are bedecked with plaque-studded double ring-pendants. Across his chest stretches a diagonally cross-shaped *channavīra*, a sort of protective covering supposed to possess magical powers, which was worn by warriors. He also wears armlets (*keyūras*) and bracelets on his arms and a ring on the right small ring. In the upper part of his body he is donning a short belted tunic with half sleeves covering only the upper arms. On the lower body he is wearing knicker-like half trousers. His half trousers and the belt (*kaṭi-bandha*) are corrugated and appear to be composed of coarse fibres like those of *munja* grass or hemp (*śana*). The raiments of these stuffs were regarded holy and worn on ceremonial occasions like tonsure, sacred thread ceremony, wedding and the like. With the tip of the thumb and the next two fingers of his right hand he is amorously touching the chin of the lady as if trying to cheer up her drooping spirits. In his left hand he is holding a big bow, symbolic of his belonging to the warrior class (*kṣatriya*). The most fascinating feature of

the male is the consolatory gesture of his right hand and the pleasant sympathetic smile on his lips. In the upper right corner of the plaque a flying *Vidyādhara* with a garland in his hands hovers above the royal personage as though awaiting the right moment to pay his homage with the flowery gift.

This is the content of the unique terracotta plaque under review and we have to interpret it in the light of the data given above and to find out the corresponding mythical story where they all can be fitted.

In the Archaeological Bulletin, Ancient India No. 4, this plaque along with numerous other terracottas from *Abhicchatrā* has been described in detail under the general heading 'Terracottas from *Abhicchatrā*'. There this mythical composition has been interpreted as *Kinnara-Mithuna*, meaning a pair of centaur-like hybrid creatures, which often figure in ancient Indian literature. In support of this explanation a few lines from Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa's *Kādambarī* (A. D. 7th cent.) have been cited. It has been said that in this book at one place *Kinnara-Mithuna* are described as being pursued by prince Candrāpīḍa and then disappearing on the hill-top (*acala-tunga-śikharam-āruroha*). This plaque is now exhibited in the National Museum, New Delhi, and the new label affixed to it describes the scene as Vikrama and Urvaśī. This identification appears to be equally arbitrary and unconvincing. The interpreter seems to have missed the real spirit of this remarkable piece of sculpture.

I offer an entirely different identification for this art object which is as follows:

While looking through *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* in search of some other references I casually came across a passage which strikingly reminded me of the terracotta plaque under review. The passage in question reads—

अथेमाममिस्वृश्य जपति । मनोरक्षासी-त्यक्षा ह वा इयम् भूत्वा मनु-मुवाह
सोऽस्याः पतिः प्रजापति-स्तेनैव-मेतत् मिथुनेन प्रियेण धाम्ना समर्धयति कृत्स्नं
करोति ।

Translation (by J. Eggeling)

‘Thou (Earth) are Manu’s Mare, for, having become a mare, she (Earth) indeed, carried Manu, and he is her lord, *Prajāpati*’ (*Satapatha Br.*, XIV, 1, 3, 25)

Commenting on this passage the learned commentator, Harisvāmin, explains it more explicitly and refers to an old *ākhyāyikā* (episode) which described in detail Manu’s ride on Earth-Mare. This commentary runs as below :

इममर्थम् आख्यायिकया उपपादयन् मन्त्रस्य समृद्धिहेतुत्वमाह-अश्वाह वा० करोतीति । पुरा खलु इयं पृथिवी ‘अश्वा’ बडवा भूत्वा ‘मनुम्’ प्रजापतिम् ‘उवाह’ ऊढवती । ‘सः प्रजापतिः’ ‘अस्याः’ पृथिव्याः पति-भर्ता सम्बद्धः, ‘एतत्’ एतेन हेतुना ‘मनोरश्वाऽसि’ इति पृथिव्यभिमर्शनेन तेनैव मिथुनेन स्त्रीपुंसात्मकेन ‘प्रियेण धाम्ना’ धारकेण तेजसा ‘एनं’ प्रवर्गं समर्धयति ।

Translation—

“In the course of performing this particular ceremony, the ritual of solemnly touching the earth and inaudibly whispering the incantation was extraordinarily auspicious and beneficial to the performer (*Yajamāna*). In times gone by this Earth converted herself into mare and carried her lord Manu *Vaivasvata* (to heaven), because he (Manu) was her husband etc.”

Again in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* there occurs the following description :—

वेवस्वतेन मनुना येन सा निर्मिता पुरी ।
स तु कृत्वा चिरं राज्य-मिक्षाकु-मभिषिच्य च ॥
पुत्रे भारं समावेश्य सशरीरो दिवं गतः ।
ततस्थः पालयन्नास्ते त्रैलोक्यं सचराचरम् ॥
तेन मन्वन्तरं सर्वं पालनीय मिदं जगत् । अध्याय १४

Translation—

“*Vaivasvata* Manu was the founder of *Ayodhya* city. After having ruled over this earth for an immense period, he placed the yoke of the kingdom on the able shoulders of his son *Ikṣvāku* and himself ascended heaven in the same corporeal frame in which he had lived on this earth. Having established his seat high above in heaven (*Svarga*) he is eternally guiding the destinies of the three *lokas*, because he is the presiding Manu of the current *Manvantara* (a period of 71 *Mahāyugas* equivalent to 306,720,000 earthly years).

These two extracts, one from the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the other from *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, together, clearly show that the scene depicted on the terracotta plaque under reference (Plate I) illustrates the ascent of Manu Vaivasvata to heaven seated on the back of Earth-Mare. As described in the text referred to above he is being transported to heaven *sa-śarīra*, that is in the same corporeal frame in which he reigned on this earth for an immense period. Being the ruling Manu, he is to guide the destinies of the three worlds for the full span of the current *Manvantara*. In the pictorial representation his mount, the Earth-Mare, has just emerged from the maze of the mountain range and is at the point of jumping into the aerial region where a flying *Vidyādhara* is already hovering above with a garland to pay homage to the deified *Prajāpati*.

The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* enjoins that the current Manu (that is *Vaivasvata*) should be portrayed bedecked with all regal symbols and insignia, but the future Manu (*Sāvarni*) should be shown shorn of all such paraphernalia.

वर्तमानो मनुः कार्यो राजलक्षणसंयुतः ।

भविष्यस्तु तथा कार्यः सर्वाभरणवर्जितः ॥

(*Viṣṇudh. Pu.* III, 70, 2)

In the scene depicted on the plaque we see that the royal rider wears a bejewelled crown, ear-pendants, a *channavīra* on the chest, armlets (*keyūras*) bracelets (*kañkaṇās*) and finger-rings, and in his left hand holds a bow—all of which bear testimony to his being an illustrious royal personage.

In the *R̥gveda* Manu is mentioned in association with the sages of remote antiquity and is repeatedly called Father Manu. Tracing his lineage we find that his great grandfather Marīci was one of the seven mind-born sons of Brahmā, the Creator. From Marīci was born Kaśyapa, from Kaśyapa sprang Vivasvat and from Vivasvat was born Manu. Hence he was called Manu Vaivasvata. He was the father of mankind and founder of the solar and lunar dynasties of the *Kṣatriya* kings. As such he

was naturally the founder of the social and moral order on this earth, as the first ruler of men and also as a *Rṣi* (seer) to whom certain hymns of the Vedas were revealed. He was also the inventor of sacrificial rules (*Śrāddha-deva*) and the propounder of legal codes (*Mānavadharmasāstra*). Tradition records that it was Manu Vaivasvata who first introduced fire worship and the performance of *Śrāddhas* among men. That Manu was a sublime personality and was held in high esteem even in early Vedic times is well attested by the common adage found in the Vedic literature, viz., "Whatever Manu said is all medicine (*yad yad Manu-ravadat tattadeva bheṣajam*)". It was a common belief of the people from the earliest times that Manu's legal code (*Dharma-sāstra*) was most wholesome for establishing moral order and righteousness in this world.

Manu was the first king of the Solar Line who founded Ayodhya on the river Sarayū as his capital. He had several sons of whom Ikṣvāku was the eldest. The names of his other sons, as found in various Purāṇas and Epics with slight variations, are: Nābhāga, Dhṛṣṭa, Śaryāti, Narisyanta, Prāṁsu, Kārūṣa, Pṛṣadhṛa, Priyavrata and Sudyumna.

In the light of the foregoing account it will be clear that the scene depicted on this plaque is neither *Kinnara-Mithuna* as explained in Ancient India No. 4 (p. 170) nor Vikrama and Urvaśī as given in the label affixed to it in the National Museum, New Delhi. It is definitely not the former because in that case both the male and the female should exhibit *Kinnara*-like features. *Kinnaras* are generally hybrid creatures, partly human and partly avian or equine in physical form. In the scene under review though the female, whose lower part is equine, can be construed as *Kinnarī* (centauress), the royal rider, who is entirely human in form, can by no stretch of imagination be interpreted as a *kinnara*. Moreover homage by a garland-bearing *Vidyādhara* to a *Kinnara-mithuna* would be out of place and a misfit in this context. This honour, however, was offered only to gods, semi-divine beings and to deified heroes.

Nor can this scene be interpreted as Vikrama and Urvaśī. In the whole range of Purāṇic and the epic literature there is nowhere a text mentioning Purūravas riding Urvaśī transformed into this hybrid form. Moreover Purūravas was after all a mortal king in the Lunar Line who fell a victim to the wiles of a nymph and thereby betrayed frailties of human passion. He never attained the divine status like his grandfather Manu who ascended *Svarga* bodily and from there continues to control the destinies of the three worlds for one *Manvantara*. Therefore a frail human like Purūravas could not deserve the honour of being attended upon by a garland-bearing *Vidyādhara* in the sky.

As against this we have the clearest reference in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* to Manu Vaivasvata's ascent to heaven in corporeal form on the back of the Earth-Mare. It leaves not the slightest doubt about the identity of the scene. Another point worth noting is that poses of right hand of both the figures, viz., Manu and his mount, are identical. The right hand of both the figures shows the ringfinger (*anāmika*) doubled and the other four fingers including thumb stretched out. This pose, known as *tri-patāka mudrā* is expressive of intense love which the couple obviously bear to each other. The face of the female, with eyes closed due to intense feelings, is indicative of sadness, which was but natural when her lord was departing to heaven. In order to console her beloved lady Manu is fondly touching her chin with the thumb and the two fingers next to it. Manu is barefooted presumably due to the fact that a man entering *Svarga* in corporeal frame should not carry with him anything unclean like the footwear.

The plaque therefore shows without doubt the majestic figure of Manu Vaivasvata, the great Prajāpati, the progenitor of mankind, ascending heaven seated astride on the back of the Earth Goddess who has temporarily assumed the hybrid form of half woman and half mare as alluded to in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*. It was the fittest sculpture to be put up in the famous Siva temple at *Abhicchatrā* along with other sculptures depict-

ing Śiva's exploits and events connected with the cult of the great god. Being father of mankind, the seer of the Vedic hymns and the first expounder of the moral code he fully deserved the honour of being enshrined in a niche in this famous temple. This honour, however, could not be bestowed either on *Kinnara-Mithuna* or on *Vikrama* and *Urvaśī*. The plaque bearing the scene of *Manu Vaivasvata's* flight to heaven in human form (*sa-śarīra-svargārohaṇa*) is therefore a rare artistic gem, the only one of its kind in India, and therefore all the more precious and a priceless possession.

Manu was regarded as an ideal saint-king by the scions of the Solar and the Lunar dynasties. The great kings like *Ikṣvāku*, *Māndhātā*, *Nahuṣa*, *Yayāti*, *Samvarāṇa*, *Kuru* etc. faithfully followed the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* in their private and public lives. *Aśoka* was no exception to this rule when he set upon himself the noble task of accomplishing *Dharma-vijaya*. By adopting this course he was simply emulating the examples of the great kings of antiquity. *Dharma-vijaya* (conquest through righteousness) was an old institution founded by this greatest law-giver of all time (Manu).

It is possible that the name of this illustrious saint-king travelled westward in remote antiquity and was adopted by the kings of other countries. The names like *Menes*, the founder of the Dynastic rule in Egypt (B. C. 3400), *Minos*, the founder of the Minoan culture in Crete (B. C. 3400) etc. could possibly be the corrupted forms of the name of the Indian law-giver. This sculpture belongs to the early Gupta period (5th cent. A.D.) and shows the sort of conception the people of that age (some 1500 years back) had of the form of Manu.

Śiva Groaning Under the Sin of Brahmanatyā (Brahmanicide)

Plate II

Another terracotta plaque from *Abicchatrā* (No. 302) also shows in *alto relievo* the *Kāpālīka* form of Śiva. With his wide open eyes he is staring blankly and is apparently shown staggering (under the crushing weight of the huge python-like monster



Plate I
Ahicchatrā
Manu Vaivasvata



Plate II
Ahicchatrā
Siva groaning under *Brahmahatya*

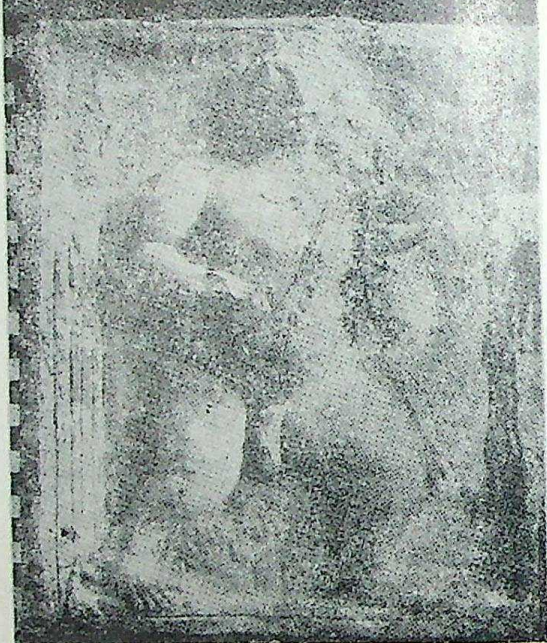


Plate III
Ahicchatrā
Śiva as roving *Kāpālīka*



Plate IV
Ahicchatrā
Śiva as Bhairava

clinging to his neck. Matted wavy hair fall loosely on his shoulders. He wears a single threaded bead on the chest and a short loincloth (*kaupīna*) extends down to the knees. The right hand in which he held the skull-bowl (*kapāla*) is broken but the left one carrying a long bone for his staves as prescribed in the *Dharma-sūtras* is intact. The long python-like object clinging to his neck and descending down his shoulders on either side is the *Brahmahatyā*, the great sin he committed by cutting off the fifth head of Brahmā. In the description given in the Archaeological Bulletin, Ancient India No. 4, this object has been identified as 'a rolled scarf of gadrooned folds with forked ends etc.'

Why did Śiva commit this major sin of *Brahmahatyā* for which he had to expiate by the severe penance of *Kāpālikaurata* for twelve years. All the *Purāṇas* unanimously declare that he cut off the fifth head of Brahmā which was haughty and arrogant, but the circumstances under which Śiva was provoked to commit this sin slightly differ in each case.

The *Kūrma Purāṇa* says that once in an assembly of the gods Brahmā declared himself as the greatest of all gods, though the *Vedas* and the *Purāṇas* extolled Śiva as the greatest of all. To justify the greatness of Śiva a huge fiery column (*viṣkam-bha*) also appeared in the sky. At this Brahmā's fifth head flew into rage and began to emit flames. Brahmā asked Śiva to admit his superiority and take refuge with him. Thereupon Śiva sent forth Kāla Bhairava to cut off Brahmā's fifth head which uttered those haughty and insolent words.

The *Padma Purāṇa* relates that once gods complained to Śiva that Brahmā's fifth head had swallowed all their prowess and valour and thereby rendered them imbecile and impotent. They prayed to him to come to their rescue. Moved by their prayer Śiva went to Brahmā's abode (*Brahma-loka*) but the latter did not take notice of his arrival. Thereupon Śiva cut off his fifth head with the nail of his left toe. Śiva held Brahmā's severed head in his hand but repented of his action.

The *Bṛhan Nārādīya Purāṇa* narrates that once Śiva went to see Brahmā, the *Pitāmaha*, saluted him and sat before him to hear the chanting of the Vedas with his four heads, and Śiva was much pleased to hear them. Then there arose the fifth head of Brahmā which showed insolence to Śiva who scraped off that head with his finger nail. That head stuck to Śiva's hand so firmly that Śiva could not shake it off though he made violent efforts to do that.

In the *Matsya Purāṇa* Śiva narrates to Pārvatī—"O Pārvatī ! in times by gone Brahmā had a fifth head that blazed into radiance. That head insolently said to me, 'I know thy birth, O Śiva'. Thereupon ablaze with rage I scraped off that head with the nail of my left thumb."

The *Varāha Purāṇa* states that once Brahmā called Śiva by the abusive name '*kapālin*'. The latter flew into rage by the disgrace and cut off the fifth head of Brahmā. That severed head of Brahmā stuck to the hand of Śiva.

According to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* Śiva cut off the fifth head of Brahmā not because it reviled him, but because Brahmā, smitten by passion, ran after his own daughter and thereby committed the sin of incest.

Now because Śiva committed the major sin of killing Brahmā, the great Prajāpati, the foremost among those who knew Brahman, (therefore a *Brāhmaṇa*) became possessed by *Brahmahatyā* (Brahmanicide). In the *Kūrma Purāṇa*, *Brahmahatyā* is conceived as an unmarried young woman (*kanyā*) of terrible form with fangs protruding from the mouth, and encircled by a blazing halo.

उक्त्वैव प्राहिणोत् कन्यां ब्रह्महत्येति विश्रुताम् ।

दंष्ट्राकरालवदनां ज्वालामाला-विभूषणाम् ॥

यावद् बाराणसीं दिव्यां पुरीमेव गमिष्यति ।

तावद् विभीषणाकारा ह्यनुगच्छति शूलिनम् ॥

...

...

...

कपाल पाणि-विश्वात्मा चचार भुवनत्रयम् ।

(कूर्मपुराण)

In the *Mahābhārata* she is said to have seized Indra by the neck and stuck to it tenaciously.

सा विनिःसरमाणं तु शक्रं दृष्ट्वा महौजसम् ।
कण्ठे जग्राह देवेन्द्रं सुलभा चामवत्तदा ॥
स हि तस्मिन् समुत्पन्ने ब्रह्महत्याकृते भये ।
नलिन्या विसमध्यस्थ उवासाव्दगणान्-बहून् ॥

(*Mahā. Bh., Śānti.*, 288, 17-18)

The *Bṛhan Nāradiya Purāṇa* describes *Brahmahatyā* as a horrible old hag emitting revolting stench and running after Śiva with lolling tongue.

एषा घोरतरा हत्या मीनगन्धा जरातुरा ।
लेलिहाना सुरेशान् ग्रहीतुं चाऽनुधावति ॥
तस्मान्नैक भवता स्थेयं द्वादश वत्सरम् ।

(*Uttara-khaṇḍa*, 29, 22)

At Śiva's request Brahmā prescribed to him twelve years' observance of *kāpālīka-urata* (the life of the sinner who begs his food in the skull of the person whom he has killed). This course of life is laid down in the *Āpastamba* and other *Dharma-sūtras* as well as in some *Purāṇas*.

अथ भ्रूणहा श्वाजिनं खराजिनं वा वहिलोम परिधाय पुरुषशिरः प्रतोपानार्थ-
मादाय अरण्ये कुटिं कृत्वा वाग्यतः शवशिरोध्वजोऽर्धशाणीपक्ष-मधोनाभ्युपरि
जान्वाच्छाय.....

(*Āp. Dharma.*)

ब्रह्महा द्वादशान्दानि कुटिं कृत्वा वने वसेत् ।
भैक्ष्य-मात्मविशुद्ध्यर्थं कृत्वा शवशिरोध्वजम् ॥
एककालं चरेद् भैक्ष्यं दोषं विख्यापयन् नृणाम् ।
कपालपाणिः खट्वाङ्गी ब्रह्मचर्यं परायणः ।
पूर्णे तु द्वादशे वर्षे ब्रह्महत्या व्यपोहति ॥

(*Kūrma Purāṇa*)

During his observance of the *kāpālīka-urata* Śiva roamed about for twelve years begging on his way. In one hand he carried the skull of Brahmā for begging bowl and in the other the *khatvāṅga* (the long leg-bone) for his staves. All this time he made his abode in the cemeteries outside habitable places

and never lived in a town or village. The course of conduct followed by Śiva was exactly in conformity with the one prescribed in the *Dharmasūtra* for the killer of a *bhrūṇa* (*Brāhmaṇa*). The *Padma Purāṇa* says that in consequence of this sin, Śiva's complexion turned black and his body began to emit foul smell and his ornaments were transformed into those of iron.

ब्रह्महत्याभिभूतस्य कृष्णा मेऽभूत्तनूरियम् ।

शावगन्धश्च मे गाले लोहस्याभरणानि च ॥

(*Padma Pu.*, V, 14)

Śiva as a Roving Kāpālīka

(Plate III)

In plaque No. 301 Bhairava is rapidly moving to right. With his complexion changed black, his body emitting foul smell and his ornaments—a pendent on chest, a string of small bells worn diagonally across the body like the sacred thread (*kiṅkini jāla*) and the bracelets—all turned into iron, he finds himself in a miserable plight and invokes the aid of Viṣṇu. The latter tells him that since he has committed the greatest of the sins, viz., *Brahmahatyā*, he is being hotly pursued by her in the form of a terrible old hag with lolling tongue. Viṣṇu further advises Śiva to be always on the move from place to place for twelve years so that she may not overtake and seize him by the neck.

As stated above, *Brahmahatyā* has been described variously. In the *Bṛīhan-Nārāḍīya Purāṇa* she is depicted as a terrible foul-smelling old hag running after the sinner with lolling tongue. In the *Kūrma Purāṇa* she is conceived as a young virgin (*kanyā*) of terrible aspect with fangs protruding from the corners of her mouth, and elsewhere she is said to have seized Indra by the neck in consequence of his having slain Vṛtra and Viśvarūpa, the two sons of Tvastṛi. The *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* enjoins that the sinner should have for his upper garment the skin of a dog or ass with the hairy side appearing outside.

In Plate II the *kapālin* form of Śiva is groaning under the weight of *Brahmahatyā*. In appearance she is like a huge python-like monster (*ajagara*) that has clung to Śiva's neck from the middle of its body descending down on either side up to the ankles where it is shown bifurcated at the termini. The body of the monster is marked by horizontal scales. The scaly body and the forked termini show that the form of *Brahmahatyā* conceived here is that of a huge python-like monster having a head at either end. Perhaps the double-headed monster was purposely intended to convey the idea that Śiva was groaning under the double weight of two *Brahmahatyās*, one of Brahmā and the other of Viṣvaksena.

Bhairava Carrying the Dead Body of Viṣvaksena
(Plate IV)

The terracotta plaque No. 300 (Plate IV) shows four-armed Bhairava carrying the dead body of a bull on his shoulders. In his back right hand he is wielding the trident while his front left hand holds the *khatvāṅga* (the long arm bone with shoulder blade attached to it). With the remaining two hands he is supporting the dead body of the bull swung on his shoulders. His facial expression is terror-striking, eye-balls rolling, brows knitted and the forehead wrinkled with the third eye in the centre. He wears a torque in the neck, bracelets and armlets on the arms and anklets and a short *kaupīna* as an under-garment. A large cobra encircles his body in the form of the sacred thread, its head being visible under the elbow of his left forearm. With the dead load of the animal corpse weighing heavily on his shoulders he is hurriedly striding to right.

In the course of his twelve years' begging vow (*kāpālīka vrata*) as a penance for expiating the sin of *Brahmahatyā* (cutting off Brahmā's fifth head) Śiva wanders all over the earth and bathes at famous *tīrthas* (sacred places) and in the ocean. At every *tīrtha* he tries to get rid of the *kapāla* (Brahmā's skull) but it does not leave his hand. Śiva next visits *Viṣṇu-loka* (Viṣṇu's Abode) and when he tries to enter

Viṣṇu's mansion for the interview he is prevented by Viṣvakṣena, the door-keeper, who is himself like Viṣṇu four-armed. Śiva strikes him down with trident and taking his body on his shoulders goes into the presence of Viṣṇu and asks for alms. By striking down Viṣvakṣena Śiva commits another *Brahmahatyā*. Viṣṇu advises Śiva to go to Kāśī for the absolution of his sin. Thereupon Bhairava wends his way to Vārāṇasī with the body of Viṣvakṣena weighing heavy on his shoulders. Now he was groaning under the weight of two *Brahmahatyās*, one for cutting off the fifth head of Brahmā and the other for killing Viṣvakṣena.

In the *Liṅga-Purāṇa* it is stated that Śiva was stricken with two *Brahmahatyās*—one for cutting off Brahmā's fifth head for the expiation of which Śiva carried Brahmā's skull as begging bowl for twelve years. The second *Brahmahatyā* resulted from Śiva's killing Viṣṇu. For the expiation of this sin he had to carry the dead body of Viṣṇu on his shoulders for a similar period.

विभ्रतो वामहस्तेन कपालं ब्रह्मणो वरम् ।

विष्णोः कलेवरं चैव विभ्रतः परमेष्ठिनः ॥

(*Liṅga Purāṇa*, p. 151)

It may be pointed out here that the dead bull on Śiva's shoulders is the corpse of Viṣvakṣena. Viṣvakṣena is only another name of Viṣṇu. In *Kaṇaparva* of the *Mahābhārata* in the context of fight between Śiva and Tripura it is said that various gods served Mahādeva in different capacities. For example, Viṣṇu became the point of his arrow, Agni the barb, Yama its feathers and Brahmā his charioteer etc. In one of the representations of Tripuramūrti T. N. Gopinatha Rao says: "Below the *mukula* there should be standing a white bull. This bull is Viṣṇu who got down from the arrow (of Mahādeva) temporarily to steady the chariot which was giving way under the feet of Śiva, and after steadying the chariot Viṣṇu returned to the arrow (*Hindu Iconography*, p. 170)." Here Viṣṇu has been given the form of a bull. It is therefore reasonable to think that the bull which Śiva is carrying on his shoulders is none else but the dead

body of Viṣvaksena whom Śiva had fatally smitten with his trident.

It is stated in the *Kūrma-Purāṇa* that at the end of twelve years' begging vow (*kāpālīka vrata*) when Śiva entered the sacred region of Kāśī the *Brahmahatyā* gave out a loud shriek of agony and plunged into the nether world of *Pātāla*.

प्रविष्टमाले विश्वेशे ब्रह्महत्या कपर्दिने ।

हाहेत्युक्त्वा सनातं वै पातालं प्राप दुःखिता ॥

(*Kūrma Purāṇa*)

In the *Bṛhan Nārāḍīya Purāṇa* this region where *Brahmahatyā* left Śiva has been called *Avimukta*, which previously belonged to Viṣṇu. It is, however, now known as *Kapāla-Mocana Tīrtha* and is associated with Śiva. Being absolved of the sin of *Brahmahatyā* Śiva gave to Viṣṇu the corpse of Viṣvaksena and raised it back to life. After that Śiva became once again the pure Mahādeva and returned to his permanent abode at Kailāsa.

Here may be cited a few more notable examples of *Brahmahatyā* encountered in ancient Indian literature.

The *Skanda-Purāṇa* mentions that in consequence of Rāma's killing Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa, both sons of Pulastya sage, and therefore Brāhmaṇas, Rāma became possessed of *Brahmahatyā*. To get rid of this sin he set up *Rāmanātha Śivālaya* (Rāmanātha Śiva Temple) at Gandhamādāna mountain and *Rāmeśvara Liṅgam* at *Setubandha*. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* relates that Indra was afflicted by *Brahmahatyā* because he had slain two sons of Tvaṣṭri and as a penance for it he lived for many years in the stalk of a lotus in Mānasa Lake.

The *Skanda Purāṇa* also alludes to the story how Baladeva, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa, killed Sūta Loma-harṣaṇa in Raivata forest for which he undertook twelve years' pilgrimage. He also killed a *Rākṣasa* named Balva and as a penance for it he took bath in Lakṣmaṇahrada at Gandhamādāna mountain.

K. N. SASTRI

The Later Mauryas in Indian History

It is well known to the students of ancient Indian history that the mighty Mauryan empire of Magadha founded by Candragupta disintegrated after the death of that illustrious and saintly king Aśoka (272 to 232 B.C.) and that the post-Aśokan age is a dark one in Indian history. We learn from the epigraphic and literary evidence that Aśoka had at least four sons named Tivara, Mahendra, Kunāla and Jalauka while the Purāṇas show that Brīhadratha was the last king of this imperial Maurya dynasty. It is stated in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* (6th century A.D.) that Brīhadratha was assassinated by his general Puṣyamitra of the Śuṅga family. This event is generally placed in about 187 B.C.¹ After Brīhadratha, we do not hear about any member of the Maurya dynasty for nearly five or six hundred years. From about the fifth century A.D. onwards, a number of rulers claiming themselves as belonging to the Maurya dynasty have been brought to light by the discovery of the epigraphical records in the West-coast, Khandesh, Rajasthan and Mathura regions. The object of the present paper is to place before the scholars the available information regarding these later Mauryan rulers in Indian history.

The Mauryas of Koṅkan and West Coast

(1) *Suketuvarman*: He is known from a solitary stone inscription found at Vada to the north of Thana near Bombay but now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. The epigraph, which is very badly damaged, is written in the southern characters of about the 4th or 5th century A.D.² and refers to a king named Suketuvarman of the Maurya dynasty. He appears to have been ruling near about Thana during that period.

¹ *Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 89-90.

² *Bomb. Gaz.*, vol. I, Part II, p. 14.

(2) and (3) *Candravarman and Anirjitavarman*: Two copper-plate grants³ discovered in the Goa territory on the west-coast reveal the existence of two kings named Candravarman and Anirjitavarman who belonged to the Maurya dynasty. As both the grants are dated in the regnal years of the ruling kings, they cannot be equated with any known era. But from the palaeographical point of view, they may be assigned to the 6th or 7th century A.D., the grant of Candravarman being slightly earlier than that of Anirjitvarman. Both these rulers, who assume the epithet of Mahārāja in their records, are not known from any other source. The charter of Candravarman records the donation, by the king, of some lands to the *Mahāvihāra* situated in Sivapura which is identified with the village bearing the same name near Chandor in Goa. The grant of Anirjitavarman, registers certain gifts, made by the king, to a Brāhmaṇa named Hastyārya. It is issued from a place called Kumāra-dvīpa which appears to be located somewhere in the Goa territory. These two records show that Candravarman and Anirjitvarman were ruling somewhere in the Goa territory about the 6th-7th century A.D. Though their mutual relationship is not known, they might have belonged to the same family of which Candravarman appears to be an earlier member. It is also not possible to say whether they had any relationship with the family of Suketvarman referred to above. From the recent discovery of a few copper-plate inscriptions⁴ of the rulers of the Bhoja dynasty, we learn that they also held sway in the Goa territory from about the 4th to the 6th or 7th century A.D. In the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to state whether the Mauryas and the Bhojas were ruling over the adjoining territories or whether one succeeded the other. In this connection, it may be pointed out that in the celebrated Aihole *prāśasti* of the Western

³ *New, Ind. Ant.*, vol. IV, pp. 181-84; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXIII, pp. 293-96.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXIII, pp. 61 ff.

Cālukya king Pulakeśin II dated 634 A.D.,⁵ the king's father Kīrtivarman I is referred to as a night of death to the Mauryas, and Pulakeśin II is credited with success against the Mauryas who are stated to have been ruling in Koṅkaṇa. It is possible that the Mauryas defeated by these Cālukyan kings belonged to the line of Candravarman and Anirjitavarman, if not one or both of them.⁶

The Mauryas of the Mathura region

(4) *Diṇḍirāja alias Karka*: A fragmentary stone inscription⁷ from Mathura city in Uttar Pradesh which, on palaeographical grounds, is referred to the latter half of the 7th century A.D., mentions four members of the Maurya dynasty viz. Kṛṣṇarāja—in his family, Candragupta—his son, Āryarāja and, probably his son, Diṇḍirāja *alias* Karka. The last named ruler appears to have burnt the city of Kāṇyakubja (i.e. Kanoj). The Maurya kings mentioned in this record seem to have held sway over the south-western areas of Uttar Pradesh. The Jaina tradition represents king Yaśovarman (circa 728-53 A.D.) of Kanoj as a descendant of Candragupta Maurya.⁸ This may refer to Yaśovarman's relations with Karka-Diṇḍirāja who, in all probability, was the grandson of a Maurya ruler named Candragupta.

The Mauryas of the Rajasthan region

(5) *Dhavala or Dhavalātman*: An inscription⁹ from Kanaswa in the old Kotah State of Rajasthan, dated in the Mālava year (i.e. Vikrama Sāmvat) 795 or 738 A.D., refers to the Brāhmaṇa prince Śivagaṇa as a feudatory of king Dhavala or

5 *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 4 ff.

6 In the alternative, we may have to assume that the Mauryas who were defeated by the Cālukyas were the descendants of Suketuvvarman mentioned above.

7 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXII, pp. 207 ff.

8 *Tripathi, History of Kanauj*, p. 194.

9 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIX, pp. 56 ff.

Dhavalātman of the Maurya lineage. Dr. D. C. Sircar has suggested, on grounds of palaeographical resemblance and geographical proximity, that the Mauryas of the Mathura region mentioned above may be connected with the Maurya king Dhavala of the Kanaswa record.¹⁰ It has also been suggested that the Mauryas who are stated to have been defeated by the Tājika (i. e. Arab) army in the Navsari plates¹¹ of the Gujarat Cālukya chief Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśin, dated in the Kalacuri year 40 or 738 A.D., were probably these Mauryas of the Malwa-Rajasthan region.¹²

(6) *Dhavalappa*: An inscription from Dabok (Dhod), about 8 miles to the east of Udaipur in Rajasthan, mentions a Guhila chief Dhanika of Dhabagartā (i.e. modern Dhod) and his overlord P.M.P. Dhavalappa. The date of this record has been read differently. Thus Halder who edited it¹³ read the date as 207 of Harṣa era or 813 A.D. while D. R. Bhandarkar first read as V.S. 807 or 750 A.D. but later on corrected it to 407 of the Gupta era or 726 A.D.¹⁴ On the basis of this reading, Bhandarkar was inclined to identify Dhavalappa of this epigraph with the Maurya king Dhavalātman of the Kanaswa inscription referred to above. Recently, however, Dr. Sircar has questioned the above readings of the date of the Dabok record and has suggested that the date is clearly V.S. 701 or 644 A.D.¹⁵ If this view is accepted, then Dhavalappa cannot be identified with Dhavalātman of the Kanaswa inscription of 738 A.D., although the former also might have belonged to the Maurya lineage. Dhavalappa is a Kannada name and Dhavalātman appears to be its Sanskritised form adopted by a later member of the family. It is possible that they were

¹⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXII, p. 210.

¹¹ *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, vol. IV, pp. 137 ff.

¹² *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXII, p. 210.

¹³ *Ibid.*, vol. XX, pp. 57 ff.

¹⁴ List, No. 1371.

¹⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXV, pp. 100-01.

related to the Mauryas of the West Coast region and might have extended their suzerainty over Rajasthan which then formed part of Harṣa's (606-47 A.D.) dominion. As pointed out by Dr. Sircar, the date of the Dabok record as read by him shows that Harṣa must have lost parts of Rajasthan before his death in 647 A.D., though the Mauryas of Rajasthan must have owed allegiance to him before.¹⁶

(7) *Durgagana*: The Jhalrapatan (Jhalwar Dist. Rajasthan) inscription dated V.S. 746 or 689 A.D. mentions a Maurya ruler named *Durgagana*.¹⁷ Since the inscription has not yet been published, no details about him are known.

We learn from the bardic traditions of Mewar that Bappa, son of Guhila or Guhadatta, founder of the Guhila family, supplanted his uncle known as the Mori (i.e. Maurya) ruler of Chitor in whose service he was before.¹⁸

The Mauryas of Khandesh

(8) *Govinda* or *Govindarāja*: A stone record¹⁹ from Vāghlī in the Khandesh District, Mahārāṣṭra State, dated Śaka 991 or 1069 A.D. refers to a Maurya chief Govinda or Govindarāja as a subordinate of the early Yādava king Seunacandra II. The epigraph mentions twenty princes or chiefs who were predecessors of Govindarāja, the earliest member being Kikaṭa. It is also stated that originally the capital of the Mauryas was at Valabhī in Surāṣṭra.

We thus know that there were several rulers in different parts of the country who claimed themselves as belonging to

16 *Loc. cit.* He also suggests that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief Nannappa mentioned in the Indragadh (Mandasaur Dist., Madhya Pradesh) inscription of 710 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.* vol. XXXII, pp. 112 ff.) and king Loka of the Nargari (Tonk Dist., Rajasthan) inscription of 987 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.* vol. XXXIV, p. 79, note 2) possibly owed allegiance to these Mauryas of the Rajasthan region.

17 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. LVI, p. 213.

18 H. C. Ray, *Dyn. Hist. N. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 1156.

19 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, pp. 221 ff.

the Maurya dynasty. As already pointed out, it is not unlikely that some of these branches were related to each other. It has been suggested that some of these Maurya rulers were probably the descendants of the princely viceroys of the imperial Maurya dynasty of Magadha, although it is not possible to establish any regular connection with them in the present state of our knowledge. We know that Aśoka appointed the princes of the royal blood as Viceroys in the outlying provinces of his vast empire to carry on the administration. Four such Viceroys ruling at Taxila, Ujjain, Tosali and Suvarṇagiri are known from lithic records. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang (7th century A.D.) mentions a Maurya ruler of Magadha named Pūrṇavarman who is not known from any other source. While some of the later Mauryan rulers enjoyed independent status, others were either semi-independent or feudatories or even petty chiefs. Future discoveries may throw further light on these later Mauryas.

G. S. GAI

A New Study of Harṣa-Pulakeśin War

The war between Harṣa and Pulakeśin has remained a controversial issue due to the lack of any substantial evidence. Neither Hiuen Tsang nor inscriptions make any clear statement about the result of the war. Bāṇa the contemporary historian is more or less totally silent about the war itself. The basis of divergent theories of the historians merely stand on the statement of Pulakeśin's own inscription, in which it is said that Harṣa's troops of elephants fell in the battle and he was seized with fear. The extolment of this event was given by his successors as well as by the modern historians. To have a clear idea of everything it is worthwhile to mention here briefly the statements of the illustrious foreign traveller.

Hiuen Tsang states that "the great king Śilāditya at this time was invading east and west and countries far and near were giving allegiance to him, but Mo-ha-lacha (i. e. Mahārāṣṭra) refused to become subject to him."¹ At other place, in the "life of Hiuen Tsang" we see that "Harṣa boasting of his skill and invariable success of his generals filled with confidence, himself marched at the head of troops to contend with this prince (Pulakeśin II), but he was unable to prevail or subjugate him."²

The above testimony plainly reflects that Harṣa seems to have brought the whole of Northern India under him. The zeal of conquest encouraged him further and like Samudragupta he wanted to become the Lord of entire Bhāratavarṣa. With this ambition he led an army to the Deccan and encountered his enemies.

The date of Harṣa's conflict has also remained a subject of controversy. According to Smith Harṣa's war with Cālukya king took place in A.D. 620.³ At the same time the above author

¹ Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 239.

² Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, p. 147.

³ Smith, V. A. *Early History of India*, p. 353.

says about the ruler of Valabhī and his dependencies, that Harṣa conquered them later than A. D. 633, and before the visit of Hiuen Tsang in South India in A. D. 641-42.⁴ Again the Chinese pilgrim clearly states that he went against the Cālukyan monarch, after subjugating the country from east to west.⁵ It is therefore highly probable that he attacked Valabhī, and soon after, he had to face a confederation, which might have been formed by these powers, (Valabhī, Datta II, Pulakeśin and others) to stem Harṣa's rapid success in the field. So it can be presumed that the war took place near about A. D. 633.

Fleet and Dr. R. K. Mookerji, on the authority of the date of the Hyderabad Grant, opined that this conflict took place some time before newmoon day of Bhādra in Śaka 534 corresponding to August 2nd A. D. 612.⁶ The Hyderabad Grant of A. D. 612 brings to our notice that Pulakeśin II acquired the title Parameśvara by "defeating the hostile kings who had applied themselves (or a hostile king who had applied himself) to the contest of a hundred battles."⁷ But Pulakeśin ascended the throne in A.D. 610-11 and Harṣa in A. D. 606 and both of them had to cope with the several powerful enemies close to their capitals. The Cālukya king could hardly have advanced to measure his strength with the emperor of Kanauj before protecting his home province from the menace of Āppāyika and Govinda and before subduing the Kadambas and the Mauryas. It is therefore, not improbable that Pulakeśin II assumed the Imperial title of Parameśvara as a second name after having saved his homeland from enemies and restoring Cālukya sovereignty in the territories of the disaffected neighbours.⁸ On the other hand, the Grant

4 *Ibid.*, p. 354.

5 Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

6 Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 351. Mookerji, R. K., "Harṣa" p. 36, Vaidya, C. V., *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, I, p. 13. *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.* 1939, pp. 584 and 604, Chattopadhyaya, K. C. assigns it between 610-12 A.D.

7 Fleet, *Ibid.*, p. 351.

8 Majumdar, R. C., *The Cālukyas* Chapter 12, *The Classical Age* p. 235.

does not mention Harṣavardhana by name. This had led Fleet to believe that the "title was acquired after his victory over Harṣavardhana"⁹, but it will not be safe to conclude only from this piece of epigraphic evidence that Pulakeśin defeated Harṣa earlier than A. D. 612. If the glorious achievement of Pulakeśin, viz., the defeat of Harṣa took place before A.D. 612, the earlier inscriptions of the Cālukya king would also have mentioned it. But as the case is that they do not even adumbrate the same. The title Paramēśvara has, no doubt, been applied to Pulakeśin II in the Hyderabad Grant of A. D. 612, but every student knows that the royal epithets did not usually correspond to their status. Furthermore, that the title Paramēśvara had no connection whatsoever with the defeat of Harṣa, is evident from the fact that Ravi Kīrti, the composer of Aihole inscription, does not apply the appellation to his patron in his famous composition. Besides the title Paramēśvara was in common use in those days.¹⁰ Most probably it was assumed by Pulakeśin II as referred to in the Hyderabad Grant of A.D. 612, after defeating some king or kings, during early parts of his career.

As Hiuen Tsang states that Harṣa proceeded against Pulakeśin II, after subjugating the east and west, it is probable that this conflict took place some time after A. D. 627.

The campaign can be further pushed after about A. D. 630 on the evidence of the Lohanera plate inscription of Pulakeśin II issued in that year. It describes his valour and exploits,¹¹ but he is altogether silent about the most notable achievement of Pulakeśin—the defeat of Harṣa.

The upshot of the above discussion reveals that the war took place before A. D. 634, which is also the date of Aihole inscription. The fact that Datta II (A. D. 629-41) gave protection

9 Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

10 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, pp. 14, 214-18; *J.B.B.R.* A.S., X, p. 79.

11. विजयी माहसैकरतिः अनेक चतुर्दन्तसंग्राम जनिता प्राण.....तया...
.....समुज्ज्वलन्ध विक्रमाख्यः.....पूर्वापराम्बु(धि) नाथः.....
प्रसभाभिमुद्रान्यराजप्रीः ।

against Harṣa to the king of Valabhī, proves that the event took place in the early years of the above king (Datia II) and therefore, that must be near about A. D. 633.

The result of the war yet remains to be considered. Scholars like R. K. Mookerji,¹² K. M. Panikkar¹³ and R. S. Tripathi¹⁴ on the basis of Aihole inscription contend that Harṣa was defeated by Pulakeśin II. But it seems difficult to accept the hypothesis on the following grounds:

(a) Pulakeśin's own record—Aihole—merely says that "Harṣa, whose lotus feet were arrayed with the rays of the jewels of the diadems of hosts of feudatories, of prosperous unmeasured might, through him had his happiness (Harṣa) melted away by fear when his troops of mighty elephants were slain in the battlefield."¹⁵ The translation of this line conveys that Harṣa lost elephants and incurred a tremendous loss in the battlefield. Excepting this, nowhere else we find anything eloquently said about the battle. The most hypothetical thing, therefore, would be to take Harṣa to have secured safety after reconciling himself with humiliating defeat.

(b) Another verse¹⁶ of the same inscription clearly states that Pulakeśin checked the progress of Harṣa.¹⁷ It also does not throw any light on the issue of defeat.

(c) The poet of Aihole inscription extolled the Cālukya ruler Pulakeśin II to the highest mark. Even every small achievement has been elaborately described. If he had actually defeated Harṣa, the Praśasti must have contained a reference to that event.

¹² Mookerji, R. K. *Harsha* p. 34.

¹³ Panikkar, K. M. *Shri Harsha of Kanauj*, p. 24.

¹⁴ Tripathi, R. S. *History of Kanauj*, p. 108.

¹⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VI, p. 6, Verse 23.

"Aparimita-vibhūti-sphīta-sāmantā-ścā-makuta-maṇi-mayūkh-ākkaṛān-ta-pādāravindaḥ I Yudhi patita-gaja(jē)ndr-ānika-vibī bhatsa-bhūto-bhaya-vigalita-harṣo yēna cākāri Harṣaḥ".

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6, Verse 24.

¹⁷ "Adhikāram-arājāt-savēna-tējō-mahimnā-śikharibhir-ibha-varjyā (rjyō) var(sh)maṇā sparḍhay-ēva".

(d) Another interesting point is that the records of Datta II dated A. D. 629-41 make no reference to this achievement and Nausari Grant of one of his successors (Jayabhāṭa III)¹⁸ also does not refer to his victory over Harṣa.

(e) The description of Hiuen Tsang also does not denote that Harṣa was defeated by the king of Mahārāṣṭra.¹⁹

(f) It is an interesting point that a great scholar like Bāṇa, as already pointed out, is also silent about this great event.

(g) The Pallavas were defeated in the hands of Pulakeśin II, but near about A. D. 642, they after repeatedly defeating him, regained their lost territories from the Cālukya kings.²⁰ Nowhere we find that Harṣa ever tried to regain his power like the Pallavas.

(h) Again if Harṣa was really defeated by Pulakeśin, his vassals and subjugated kings would have raised their banners against him. But there are no evidences of that nature.

(i) Pulakeśin II was surrounded by several powerful enemies²¹ therefore, he was not in such a position that he could challenge a great king like Harṣa who had subjugated nearly the whole of northern India and defeated a powerful king like Saśāṅka.

Conclusion

After conquering the entire northern India, Harṣa, gave his attention to the affairs of western and southern parts of the country, where small kingdoms of Valabhī, Lāṭa and Mālava were flourishing. Although these small kingdoms were independent, they attracted the attention of both Pulakeśin II and Harṣa. Harṣa might have thought that if they become friendly or accept the suzerainty of Pulakeśin II it would become a dangerous and formidable confederation. So he con-

¹⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, pp. 77-79.

¹⁹ Watters, *op. cit.*, ii., p. 239; Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

²⁰ Majumdar, R. C. *op. cit.*, p. 240.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 235-37 and see also the Aihole inscription's verse 16 "the whole world was enveloped in the darkness that was enemies."

sidered the suppression of these petty powers to be a dire necessity. Due to the above contingency, Harṣa probably led an expedition against the Valabhī ruler. As weak as was the Valabhī ruler—Dhruvasena, he had to take protection of the Gurjara ruler Datta II. It is also corroborated by the Nausāri Grant of Jayabhata III that the Gurjara ruler Datta II “acquired fame by giving shelter (trāṇa) to the Lord of Valabhī (Dhruvasena II) who had been overpowered by the Paramēśvara Harṣa.”²² The Gurjara ruler, however, was not so powerful to help the Valabhī king (Dhruvasena II) against Harṣa. The natural conclusion can be drawn that after meeting together, these two powers sought the help of Pulakeśin II. They formed a strong coalition and together faced the challenge of Harṣa. According to the Aihole inscription the place of the battle was somewhere near the Vindhya on the bank of Rewā (Narmadā), whereafter having encamped they checked the progress of Harṣa.²³ As earlier stated Harṣa had to bear a heavy loss, which has been eloquently described in the Praśasti of Pulakeśin, but the poet passed over the loss of his master. It seems very probable that both the parties were paralysed due to the destruction in the field. And forced by the calamitous circumstances they reached at some sort of settlement. According to the treaty, Narmadā, most probably, was taken as the demarcation boundary of these rulers. Possibly it seems to me that Pulakeśin II transferred the suzerainty of Vaṅga, Aṅga, and Magadha to Harṣa. These parts were claimed to have been under the suzerainty of his (Pulakeśin II's) predecessor. We find this direct testimony in the Mahākūṭa Pillar inscription of Mangaleśa that his predecessor (Kīrtivarman I) defeated the rulers of Vaṅga, Aṅga and Magadha etc. Again an indirect claim is found in the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II that his

²² Majumdar, R. C. *op. cit.*, p. 236.

²³ “Śā-satō yasya Rēvō(vā)-vividha-pulīna-śōbh-āvandhya-Vindhya-
ōpākāṇṭh(aḥ),” and see footnote no. 17 for the remaining portion of the
verse.

father Kirtivarmān I destroyed the power of Mauryas. The Mauryas ruled over Magadha, at that time as is stated by the Chinese pilgrim. Harṣa is again described in the Chinese records as the king of Magadha. The natural outcome of the above facts is that Harṣa was the supreme master of Magadha without giving allegiance to any other power. The Nālandā inscription also establishes his suzerainty over Magadha.

The other powers, i. e., Lātas, Mālavas, Gurjaras etc., accepted the suzerainty of Pulakeśin II as we know from the Aihole inscription.²⁴ And it seems, Harṣa also consented to it. The fate of Valabhī was decided by Harṣa after he gave him his daughter in marriage. Valabhī, however, did not pay homage to Pulakeśin II, because the Maitraka dynasty to which he belonged does not come in the list of Pulakesin's feudatories in the Aihole inscription.²⁵

NISAR AHMAD

24 *Ep. Ind.*, *Ibid.*, p. 6 verse 22, "Pratāpa-ōpanatā yasya Lāt Mālava-Gūrjarāḥ daṇḍ-ōpanatā-Sāmanta charyyāch (ā) ryyā iv-ābhavan."

25 Some scholars believe that Mālava was under the Valabhī ruler and so Valabhī has been taken in the Aihole inscription as the Mālavas. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, however, points out that the Maitrakas cannot in any way be taken as Mālavas, even if they ruled over it. See *The Classical Age*, p. 237.

On the Reign of Vijayasena

The internal revolt of a number of feudatory chiefs (*milit=ānanta-Sāmanta-cakra*) against Mahīpāla II of the Pāla dynasty in the third quarter of the eleventh century constitutes a striking phenomenon in the early medieval history of Bengal, inasmuch as the dynasty had been ushered into existence more than three hundred years ago by the voice of the *Sāmantas* and by a show of popular election. The cause of the rising is pretty well known: the Pāla king had imprisoned his two brothers, Śūrapāla and Rāmapāla, the latter of whom used to enjoy enormous popularity in the kingdom. Normally we are accustomed to believe that it was a revolt of the Kaivartas of Varendrī (North Bengal), but the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara-Nandī, which is practically the sole source of our information on this episode, is silent over what part, if any at all, the Kaivartas or their leader Divya (Divvoka) played during this revolt. All that we know is that Divya was "an (officer) sharing royal fortune who rose to a high position" (*RC*, I. 38), and that it was the Kaivarta king (*kaivarta nṛpa*) who eventually killed (*hatvā*) the chief of kings (*nṛpati śreṣṭhaṁ*), Mahīpāla II, and occupied a major portion (*pracuram bhūmaṇḍalam*) of the kingdom (Varendrī) (*RC*. I. 29). Recently it has been postulated that the Kaivartas were wielding a large amount of power and influence in Bengal since the days of Rājyapāla, and also that "Mahīpāla II was possibly slain not by Divya (Divvoka), but by these vassals in the battle-field" (*IHQ.*, XXI, pp. 222-23). As to the first point, it is, to say the least of it, a far-fetched and premature conjecture, while the second is grossly in violation of the distinct testimony of the *Rāmacarita* (cf. *History of Bengal*, published by the Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 154, fn. 1). We may thus conclude that Divya only reaped the fruit of the revolt of the *Sāmantas* and was the murderer of Mahīpāla II.

Varendra now became *Divya-bhūva*, the land of Divya, till it was reconquered by Rāmapāla. In the list of the commentary

on the *Rāmacarita* of the thirteen feudatory chiefs who joined Rāmapāla in his expedition against the Kaivartas, there is the name of one Vijayarāja of Nidrāvalī. Some identify him with Vijayasena, the real founder of the Sena dynasty of Bengal; others say, "this is, however, not certain". But the issue can very well be decided with the help of the Deopārā *prāsasti* of Vijayasena, which contains, we are no more justified to overlook, more than one allusion to Divya. The first, which is rather a covert one, is *ripu-cchedena Divyāḥ prajāḥ* in verse 18 of the *prāsasti*. The second is more explicit: *datvā Divya-bhuvāḥ pratikṣiti-bhṛtām = urvīm = urīkurvatā*, which is the first line of verse 19. The old rendering of *Divya-bhuvāḥ* as 'land in heaven' has now in the fitness of things to be altered by 'the land of Divya,' and the whole passage, therefore, is to be translated as, "By him (Vijayasena), who gave the land of Divya to the rival princes (i.e. the Pālas who subsequently became his rival), and accepted from them the earth (in return)....." The verse, continuing, says, *nettham cet katham anyathā vasumatī bhoge vivād = onmukhī*, i.e. otherwise, how would the earth come to be enjoyed by him (Vijayasena) when there arose disputes (regarding Varendra)? Rāmapāla, we know, on the eve of his expedition against the Kaivartas, was purchasing the help of the feudatories by a liberal gift of money and land, and verse 19 of the Deopārā *prāsasti* is doubtless a clear testimony to Vijayasena's helping Rāmapāla in regaining Varendrī, and in return winning for himself his territory, or, better, his independent station. That is to say, the feudatory Vijayasena became an independent king at the time of the Varendra expedition of Rāmapāla. There is, therefore, all the probability for identifying Vijayasena with the feudatory Vijayarāja of Nidrāvalī. As such, his father Hemantāsena must have all along been a Pāla feudatory, in spite of the title *Mahārājādhirāja* applied to him in the Barrackpur inscription of Vijayasena.

But where is Nidrāvalī? Towards the close of the nineteenth century a MS. of the *Dānasāgara* of Vallālasena obtained from Assam by the late Nagendra Nath Vasu was reported to

read a passage with regard to Vijayasena: *Tad=anu Vijayasenah prādur=āsīt Varendre*, and the idea that was made to gain ground at that time was that Vijayasena, and for the matter of that the Senas, first settled in Varendra (*JASB.*, vol. LXV, 1896, Part I, p. 20; also *Gaudarājāmālā*, by R. P. Chandra, p. 60). As a stroke of chance concomitance, another MS. of a *Kula-pāñjikā* or Social Chronicle (of the Vārendra brahmins) with the significant name Nidrālī, apparently a variant of Nidrāvalī, reached the hands of the same scholar who propounded that the village Nidrāvalī was originally in the Rajshahi District and now it is in the bed of the Padmā (*Vaṅger Jāṭiya Itihāsa, Rājanyakāṇḍa*, pp. 199-200, footnote). But, nevertheless, the correct reading of the *Dānasāgara* passage was found in other MSS. reading *Narendra* for *Varendra*, which thus came to mean, "After him (Hemantasena) came the *Narendra* (king) Vijayasena." With that also vanished the identification of Nidrāvalī with Nidrālī, and the question at present remains an open one.

Epigraphic testimony shows that the first historical member of the Sena family, Sāmantasena, came from Karṇāṭa in South India to settle in his old age in Rāḍha (West Bengal), somewhere on the bank of the Ganges (*Gaṅgā-pulina*). What attracted him to Rāḍha is expounded by the Naihāṭī copper-plate inscription of Vallālasena by stating (v. 3) that a number of Karṇāṭa emigrants had already planted themselves there. Nidrāvalī has, therefore, to be sought for in Rāḍha, the cradle of the Sena power in Bengal. There is indeed a village called Nidole or Nirole in Rāḍha, not far from modern Sālār and Katwa and close to the Ganges (Bhāgīrathī). It is exactly within a few miles of this village that the Sītāhāṭī (Naihāṭī) grant of Vallālasena and the Śaktipur grant of Lakṣmaṇasena have been found. The findspots of the Barrackpur copper-plate of Vijayasena and the Ānuliā copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇasena, and also the capital of the Senas, Nadiyā, the Nadiāh of the *Tabaqat-i-Nāsiri* of Minhāj-us-Sirāj, are not also a far cry from this village. Nidole, I learn, was a flourishing village even some-

time ago, and this is the village that can, at the present state of our knowledge, best answer to the site of old Nidrāvalī.

According to the accepted chronology, Vijayasena came to the throne in or about 1095 A.D., and although in course of his long reign of at least 62 years he succeeded to conquer practically the whole of Bengal, he does not seem to have scored any conspicuous success till the second quarter of the twelfth century.

One of the early exploits of Vijayasena was his encounter with Nānya, another Karṇāṭic adventurer who established about 1097 A.D. a kingdom in Michilā (North Bihar) and subsequently annexed Nepal. This Nānya has to be distinguished from his name-sake, who was also a king of Mithilā and an ornament of the Karṇāṭaka race but a younger brother of Kīrtirāja and a *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, and who wrote a commentary on those chapters of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* that deal with music. Since this commentary is quoted by Abhinavagupta in his own commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the beginning of the eleventh century A.D., Nānya, the commentator, cannot be identical with Nānya, the founder of the Karṇāṭaka dynasty of Nepal, who as a contemporary of Vijayasena, belonged to the first half of the twelfth century, and whom we may thus call Nānya II (cf. *Abhinavagupta*, K. C. Pandey, Benares, 1935, pp. 122-123). The exploits of the earlier Nānya of Michilā, viz. that he had broken the powers of Vaṅga and Gauḍa, as are mentioned in the colophon of his commentary, cannot, therefore, be ascribed to Nānya II, who is never known to have been on the offensive against Vijayasena. According to the testimony of the *Deopara prasasti* of Vijayasena, he has not only defeated Nānya II but also imprisoned him along with three other chiefs, viz, Vīra, Vardhana and Rāghava. However wild might have been the vagaries into which the court-poets sometimes or often used to indulge to laud their royal masters, those could not run to the extent of making specific allegations of so very serious nature against contemporary kings in open inscriptions.

When exactly Nānya (II) ceased to rule is not known; according to Jayaswal's chronology he died in 1133 A.D. If this be correct or approximately so, Nānya and the three other kings felt the brunt of Vijayasena's arms before 1133 A.D. One of them is Vīra, *i.e.* Viraguṇa of Koṭāṭavī, and another is Vardhana, *i.e.* Dvorapavardhana or Govardhana of Kauśāmbī, which was more probably the Kusumba of Rajshahi District than any other place in Bengal bearing a similar name. They had formerly been associates of Vijayasena, *alias* Vijayarāja, in the Varandra expedition of Rāmapāla. But who is the third king, Rāghava? His identification with Rāghava, the second son of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga of Kālīṅga and who ruled from c. 1153 to 1170 A.D., was first proposed by Vincent A. Smith, and this has since then been the accepted theory. But how could Rāghava, the king of Kālīṅga (1153-1170 A.D.) remain (as according to Verse 21 of the Deopārā *prāśasti*) in the same prison-house as with Nānya, who had died in 1133 A.D. or so? Secondly, Vijayasena is said in the same *prāśasti* (v. 20) to have defeated the king of Kālīṅga, who is often believed to have been no other than Rāghava. But this also comes into conflict with the fact recorded in the Mādihāinagar and Bhowal copperplates that Lakṣmaṇasena made sports in his youth (*kaumāra-keli*) with the damsels of Kālīṅga, presumably having had accompanied his grandfather, Vijayasena, in the latter's expedition against Kālīṅga. As Lakṣmaṇasena was born in 1118-19 A.D., the age covered by his *kaumāra* must not outstrip 1135 A.D., when Rāghava was not the king of Kālīṅga. The late N. G. Majumdar translated the expression *kaumāra-keli* as "his sport as a crown-prince" (*Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p. 114); but neither at the time of Vijayasena, Lakṣmaṇasena was the crown-prince, nor the term *keli* (amorous sports) in relation with *aṅganā* (females) should have for *kaumāra* only the contracted sense of 'pertaining to a crown-prince'. Again, this episode of Lakṣmaṇasena's early life must not be confused with another of a later period, viz. the expedition that he undertook against the king of Kālīṅga during his own reign, when he planted a pillar of victory at Purī.

What follows from the above discussion is that Rāghava

of the Deopārā *praśasti* remains still unidentified (unless we take him to be a prince and not a king while he was imprisoned), and that Vijayasena made an expedition against a king of Kālīṅga, evidently Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, sometime before 1135 A.D., when his adolescent grandson Lakṣmaṇasena had accompanied him. According to Verse 20 of the Deopārā *praśasti*, the expedition against Kālīṅga took place after the defeat of Nānya and Vīra.

Vijayasena is also said to have driven away (*apākṛta*) the king of Kāmarūpa. This aggressive king might have been Vaidyadeva, as Dr. Majumdar supposes (*Dacca History of Bengal*, I, pp. 213-14).

No uncertainty, however, hangs over the identification of the king of Gauḍa, whom Vijayasena made to flee (*adravat*) from Gauḍa (or Bengal). He must have been Madanapāla, the youngest son of Rāmapāla. The newly discovered inscription from Lakshmisarai in the district of Monghyr, dated in 1162 A.D. (1083 *Śaka*) which corresponded to his 18th regnal year, proves that he ascended the throne in 1143-44 A.D. He must have been ousted by Vijayasena from Gauḍa after his 8th regnal year, i.e. 1152 A.D., when he had issued his Manhali (in Dinajpur District) grant. Thus we may place, without any great risk of error, the date of the expulsion of Madanapāla as *circa* 1154 A.D. As Vijayasena's rule terminated in or about 1158 A.D., it follows that towards almost the close of his long reign Vijayasena succeeded to establish his authority in North Bengal. In this struggle (whether it took place on the bank of the Kālindī, a river that flows in the district of Maldah, or not), Lakṣmaṇasena, then a man of about 35, seems, from the wordings of the Mādhāinagar and Bhowal inscriptions that he had suddenly seized the royal fortunes of the king of Gauḍa, to have acted as the general. If it is significant that even after driving away the last representative of the Pāla dynasty from North Bengal, Vijayasena did not assume the title of *Gauḍeśvara*, it is no less striking that there is no record of Madanapāla's attempt to recover, or of his occupation of, any part of North Bengal or Bengal thereafter, so signal was his defeat. He

continued to rule till 1162 A.D. in central and eastern Magadha which he had recovered from the clutches of the Āhaḍavālas. Hemmed in between two mighty foes, the Senas and the Gāhaḍavālas, the Pāla king appears to have anyhow been maintaining his precarious civil existence, with Monghyr as his headquarters. He was succeeded, as it now seems likely, in 1162 A.D., by Govindapāla, probably his son. In the colophon of one Buddhist MS. written in the 4th year of his reign Govindapāla is given all the usual high-sounding titles of the former Pāla emperors, viz. *Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Parama-saṅgata Mahārājādhirāja*, etc. The colophons of later MSS. referring to him, as also inscriptions, however, significantly drop these titles altogether, meaningless as they were for a king of his status. During his reign the Gāhaḍavālas from the west were again making their headway into Magadha, thereby driving him to bay. I do not, therefore, find any justification for the assertion that Vijayasena's son Vallālasena and grandson Lakṣmaṇasena had to continue, in their reigns, the struggle with the last Pālas over the possession of Gauḍa. They were no match for them to dare wrest the conquest made during the reign of Vijayasena. To say again, until any unimpeachable record, dated after 1152 A.D., of the last Pālas be discovered from North Bengal, we should not harbour any doubt about the abiding and integral character of Vijayasena's conquest of Gauḍa. In one MS. dated in his 38th regnal year Govindapāla, however, is styled *Gauḍeśvara*. But this need not perplex us. As he seems to have come to the throne in 1162 A.D., his 38th regnal year (*Sam* 38, as against his *gata-rājya* or *atīta-rājya* year) would correspond to 1200 A.D. If this date be not wide of the mark, it would clearly indicate that the flight of Lakṣmaṇasena to East Bengal, just shortly before, had tempted Govindapāla to stir and even assume the title of *Gauḍeśvara*, in that chaotic period. But that was only a short-lived affair.

The last event of political importance attributed to Vijayasena in the Deopara *prāsaṁsi* is his naval expedition through the waters of the Ganges against a power of the western region (*pāścātya-cakra*). If the poet Umāpatidhara has followed any chronolo-

gical order in this respect, the event has to be placed after Madanapāla's expulsion from Gauḍa. This would mean that the naval expedition took place in or about 1155 A.D., and so the Deopārā inscription referring to this event has to be dated still later, perhaps in or about 1156 A.D. But against whom was undertaken this naval expedition? He could not possibly have been Nānyadeva, whose territory lay far away from the Ganges and who had died long ago. It was, therefore, either against a Gāhaḍavāla king, or Madanapāla, that it was led. But the force of the term *pāścātya* (western) has a better application to a Gāhaḍavāla king than to Madanapāla. Secondly, the poet after relating just in a previous verse the discomfiture of Madanapāla with his description as Gauḍendra does not appear to refer to the self-same king as the *Pāścātya-cakra* in a following verse. Thirdly, a large-scale naval expedition against Madanapāla after his decampment from Gauḍa was hardly worth embarking in. The expedition, however, did not produce any tangible result.

The Barrackpur inscription of Vijayasena, dated in his 62nd regnal year and issued from the *upakārikā* (royal residence) at Vikramapura, certainly proves his conquest of Vaṅga also. But what is difficult is to surmise when it was conquered. If the term *upakārikā* of this inscription, in contradistinction with the word *skandhāvāra* (in the sense of a capital) applied to Vikramapura in all later Sena records, means a residence lately built, but which had not yet developed into a *skandhāvāra*, it would speak for the conquest of the land ere long. This would then be the last conquest of Vijayasena's long reign of at least 62 years, which included the period of his rule as a feudatory.

The only point of importance with regard to Vijayasena that I fail to explain adequately here is the absence of the title of *Gauḍeśvara* of his as also of his son in their own records. For this, however, we shall have to wait till fresh materials are forthcoming. But this cannot serve as a ground to aver that they shared the government of Gauḍa with the last Pālas, or that Vijayasena attained only a partial success in Gauḍa.

Dasarajña (Battle of the Ten Kings)

Dāśarājña is a term which occurs in the *Rgveda* three times¹ and once² in the *Atharvaveda*. There is another place in the *Rgveda*³ where the meaning of the word is clear, though the term does not occur in this form. This is a compound word formed by joining the word *daśa* (ten) with the word *rājan* (king) with a suffix at the end which means "relation, related to". The whole word has the meaning of "A battle relating to ten kings, a battle in which ten kings took part". The meaning of a "battle" is known from the context and also from ancient commentaries. The term does not occur in the *Nighaṇṭu*, nor is it found in the whole of the *Nirukta* of Yāska. The word does not come in the *Brāhmaṇa* or in the *Vedāṅgas*. Thus it is not a very important word in the Vedic literature. If the word had been considered as of some importance, requiring explanation, it should have been included in the *Nighaṇṭu*.

Sāyaṇa too passes over the word explaining it as a battle in which ten kings had taken part. He does not say who the ten kings were. We know from the context that the ten kings had faced king Sudās and were completely defeated by the latter. That is all that Sāyaṇa too knew.⁴ Neither the term nor the event is found in any part of the Vedic literature. So from within the Vedic literature itself it is not possible to decide who were the ten kings who marched against Sudās and who in the battle met with complete defeat. I have not been able to see any clue in the *Purāṇas* either.

1 VII.33.3, 5; VII.83.8

2 XX.128.12.

3 VII.83.6, 7.

4 Sāyaṇa simply says: *daśabhiḥ rājabhiḥ saha yuddhe pravṛtte* (3). *daśānām rājñām saṅgrāme* (5). These two are in VII.33. *daśabhiḥ rājabhiḥ śatrubhūtair*. (VII.83.8). *Daśabhiḥ daśasaṅkhyākai rājabhiḥ śatrubhūtair nrpaiḥ* (VII.83.6). *daśasaṅkhyākā rājāṇaḥ sudāsaḥ śatrubhūtāḥ* (7).

But in recent times, it has been explained as a battle in which ten kings from within the Vedic people attacked king Sudās. The *R̥gveda* speaks of "the five people" by different terms and the modern view is that they had a part in this battle as enemies of Sudās. Macdonell says in his *History of Sanskrit Literature*⁵ that Four of the five people must have taken part in this battle, along with other kings." The five people are the Pūrus, Turvaśas, Yadus, Anus and Druhyus. The opposing armies met on the banks of the river Paruṣṇī, and were repulsed with heavy loss. This is typical of the modern interpretation.

There is one place in the *R̥gveda* where the term does not occur but where there is the reference to the ten kings as enemies of Sudās,⁶ and where the kings are spoken of as *Ayajyus*, those who do not perform the Vedic rituals. The word is from the root *Yaj* (to Sacrifice) and the word *Yāga* (Sacrifice) is also from the same root. I have not seen any place in the modern literature on the subject where this point has been taken due note of. When I was studying the problem⁷ this epithet, rather uncomplimentary, struck me and I began to wonder why this epithet was applied to the kings within the Vedic people. There are other words too meaning more or less the same thing, like *Arāti* (who does not make gifts to the gods) and *Ayajuan* (who does not perform the sacrifice). The term *Arāti* has come to mean "enemy" without its etymological significance, even in the *R̥gveda*. The same or similar roots have given rise to many other words in the *R̥gveda* which mean an "enemy", like *Arādbas*, *Arāta*, *Arātin* and *Arāvān*. For enmity there are words like *Dhūrti*, *Dviṣ*, and *Agha*. Such terms are used with reference to the enemies of the Vedic people. Corresponding to the word *Ayajyu* used with reference to the ten kings, there is also the word *Ayajuan*, meaning the same. How is it that

⁵ p. 153.

⁶ VII.83.6, 7.

⁷ See the *Vedas* by Dr. C. Kunban Raja, Andhra University, ch. XII, para 17 ff. pp. 177 f.

the word *Ayajyu* is used in this single place with reference to the great kings of the *R̥gveda* who were all worshippers of the gods and who performed also the sacrifices?

When I examined the passage I had a feeling that the ten kings were foreign rulers who made an attack on the Vedic people. The enemies of the Vedic people were the people beyond the western borders of their territory. The position that the Aryans were themselves invaders and that their enemies were the original settlers of the country whom they fought against and defeated, must be subjected to close scrutiny. The word *Dasyu* must be related to the Iranian word *Dabyu*, which appears both in the *Avesta* and in the Old Persian Inscriptions. The word means "land." The people of the land on the western side of the territory of the Vedic people became the foreigners and the enemies of the Vedic people. *Dāsa* too is related to this word. In the Old Persian, there is the word *Daba* which is a province of the Old Persia and in modern Persian there is the word *Deh* meaning a village. The word *Dāsa* has no touch of the sense of "servant," which meaning the word acquired at a later stage. The *Arāti* and *Ayajvan* and the *Ayajyu* are the people on the western side of India. There is nothing impossible in the ten kings of the *Dāśarājña* battle being kings from the western side of the country. Although it cannot be proved that the ten kings of the *Dāśarājña* battle were such foreigners from the west of India, it is more or less certain that they were not the kings from within the Vedic people. That the ten kings contained some of "the five peoples," so often mentioned in the *R̥gveda* is an improbability. Can a Vedic poet speak of them or any of them as *Ayajyu*? This question has to be considered carefully. We have to take into consideration the question: who the five people were.

The chief terms used to designate the five peoples are *Pañca Jana*, *Pañca Kṣiti* and *Pañca Kṛṣṭi*. They are always spoken of as enjoying the good will and the protection of the gods.

1 *ya ekaś carṣaṇinām vasūnām irajyati indraḥ pañca kṣitīnām*
(Who alone lords over the men, over wealth, Indra, over the five people) I. 7. 9

2 *aditir dyaur aditir antarikṣamviśve devā aditiḥ pañca janāḥ* (Aditi is the sky, the atmospherical region, all the gods, and the five people) I. 89. 10

3 *yasya viśvāni hastayoḥ pañca kṣitīnām* (In whose two hands remain everything, the wealth of the five people) I. 176. 3

4 *asmākam dyumna adhi pañca kṛṣṭiṣūccā svar na suśūcīta duṣṭaram.* (May our lustre illumine the five people, high, like the sun, impossible to reach) II. 2. 10

5 *Mitrāya pañca yemire janā abhiṣṭiśavase* (The five people remained within the control of Mitra, powerful to render help) III. 59. 8

6 *ā dadhikrāḥ śavasā pañca kṛṣṭiḥ sūrya iva jyotiṣāpas tatāna.* (Dadhikrā encompassed the five peoples like the sun, lording over waters) IV. 38. 10

7. *yad indra te...pañca kṣitīnām avas tat su na ā bhara* (O Indra, what protection you have for the five people, bring that to us). V. 35-2

8. *yā pañca carṣaṇīr abhīndrāgnī tā havāmabe* (We invoke them two—Indra and Agni—who remain facing the five people) V. 86. 2

9. *yam namasā rātabhavyā añjanti suprayasam pañca janāḥ* (Whom the five people approach with salutations, making offering—Agni) VI. 11.4

10. *yad vā pañca kṣitīnām dyumnā ā bhara* (Whatever belong to the five people, that glory bring to us...O Indra) VI. 46. 7

11. *yaḥ pañca carṣaṇīr abhi niṣasāda dame dame* (Who stood facing the five people in every home...Agni) VII. 65. 2

12. *eṣā...pañca kṣitīḥ pari sadyo jigāti* (She—Dawn—goes to the five people immediately) VII. 70. 4

13. *pañca kṣitīr mānuṣīr bodhayanti* (Awakening the five human peoples—Dawn) VII. 79.1

14. *yat pañca mānuṣān anu nṛmṇam tad dbhattam aśvinā* (O Aśvins give us that heroism which exists in the five men) VIII. 9. 2

15. *janā yad agnim ayajanta pañca* (The five people worshipped Agni) X. 45.6
16. *Pūṣā bhago aditiḥ pañca janāḥ* (Pūṣan, Bhaga, Aditi and the five people) VI.51.11
17. *triṣadhaṣṭhā saptadbātuh pañca jātā* (Occupying the three positions together, the five people) VI.61.12
18. *ibi pañca janā abhi* (Come to the five people) VIII.32.22
19. *anu janān yatate pañca dbirāḥ* (The intelligent Soma, hurries after the five people) IX.92.3
20. *yaḥ pañca carṣaṇir abhi* (Who, the Soma, towards the five people) IX.101.9
21. *pañca janā mama botram juṣadhuam* (May the five people take delight in my oblation) X.103.4, 5.
22. *diviṃ pañca kṛṣṭayah* (As in the heaven, the five people) X.70.4
23. *na hi me akṣipac canācchāmsuḥ pañca kṛṣṭayah* (Not at all do the five people avoid by look) X.119.6
24. *sadyas cid yaḥ śavasā pañca kṛṣṭiḥ sūrya iva jyotiṣapas tatāna* (Who spread their work among the five people immediately, as the sun does with his illumination) X.178.3
25. *pañca vrātā apasyavaḥ* (The five people desirous of work) IX.14.2
26. *priyam priyāḥ samaviśanta pañca* (The five dear people entered the delight) X.55.2

In these twenty six places, there are terms like *vrāta* (group), *jāta* (born) and *priya* (dear).

It must be noted that Vāsiṣṭha himself speaks of the five people as the friends of gods and as pious people. How can we say that the same Vāsiṣṭha condemned them as enemies of the Vedic ritual?

There is no authority at all to say that the five people are the five mentioned above. Yāska⁸ gives two explanations for the word. It is either the five-fold humanity divided into the five

8 Nirukta: *gandharvāḥ pitaro devā asurā rakṣāṁsīty eke. catvāro varṇā nīśadaḥ pañcama ity aupamanyavaḥ* III-8.

communities of Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Sūdra along with the fifth community of Niṣādas. They are the wise people, the martial people, the business people, the working people and the hunters. Yāska gives also an alternative explanation of the five kinds of supernatural beings—Gandharvas, pitṛs, devas, asuras and rākṣasas.

If we are to make a choice between the two alternatives in Yāska's interpretations, the preference is for the first, namely that the pañca-janas are the people divided into the five communities. It is impossible that the Vedic poets had been praying for the welfare of the supernatural beings, and among the five are the Asuras and the Rākṣasas, who are demons and the enemies of the Vedic people. Although the *Avesta* speaks of only three divisions of the people, the wise, the powerful and the common people, there must have developed a division of the people among the Iranians into five classes, which five classes closely agree with the five classes mentioned by Yāska. Ferdousi has written his *Shah Namah* out of materials supplied by the Palhavi literature and Ferdousi says⁹ that it was Jamshid who first divided humanity into the five classes. He mentions some names which have not been identified; but the five are the wise, the martial, the wealthy and the working people with the fifth class doing lower types of work. In later Sanskrit, the word, *Pañca-jana* means only men in general¹⁰ and the word is not found commonly used in literature. The thesis that the pañca-janas in the *R̥gveda* meant "the five peoples" requires re-examination. And it is impossible that the pañca-janas should be condemned by Vaśiṣṭha as *Ayajyu*, those who do not perform the Vedic worship.

If the Pañca-janas were formed of the five peoples enumerated by modern interpreters, how is that the most important of the

9 In the description of the reign of Jamshid he gave the names that are not identified. See the Vedas by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Andhra University, ch. XII, Para 25, p. 179.

10 Syuḥ pumāṁsaḥ pañcajanāḥ—Amara Kośa 11.6.1.

Vedic people, the Bharatas, were not included among these five who are the special favourites of the gods as a separate group with this distinct designation? And not only this, they are brought into conflict with the Bharatas among whom Sudās is one of the most important kings.

If we examine the passages where there is a mention of Sudās, there also we do not find even a dim indication of any sort of hostility between him and the other peoples. The name Sudās is one of the most frequently occurring ones in the *R̥gveda*. The word means "one with profuse gifts," and the word occurs in this sense also in a few places in the *R̥gveda*. But in the majority of cases, it appears as the name of the king.

1. Aśvins carry wealth for Sudās I.47.6.
2. Indra broke to pieces the seven fortresses in battle for the sake of Purukutsa; as you strew them like grass for the sake of Sudās, you have given wealth to Pūru I.63.7.
3. Aśvins brought back the wives for Vimada and brought back Sudevyā for Sudās I.112.19.
4. Viśvāmitra stopped the current of the wide river and carried Sudās across. III.53.9.

In the above contexts, Sudās has been helped by Indra and by the Aśvins, and his name appears along with that of Purukutsa and Pūru and Vimada. The large number of occurrences of the name is in the VIIth Book containing the poems of Vaśiṣṭha.

5. Indra made shallow the waters that had grown into great size; he threw Śimyu into the flood III.18.5.
6. Indra straightened up the waters of Puruṣṇī and gave over to Sudās his enemies who talk false things III.18.9.
7. The Tṛtsus, surrounded by Indra, went down like water let loose; the enemies abandoned their wealth for the sake of Sudās III.18.15.
8. After various deeds, Indra gave away all wealth for Sudās III.18.17.
9. There was a rich gift from Sudās, the son of Paijavana, grandson of Devavat. VII.18.22.

10. There is a prayer to the Maruts to look after Paijavana as they had done in the case of his father, Divodāsa. VIII.18.25

11. Indra protected Sudās. VII.19.3

12. Sudās is a giver of offerings, one who makes gifts. VII.19.6

13. Indra made the world wide for Sudās. VII.20.2

14. Your hundred protections are available to Sudās. VII.25.3

15. O heaven and earth, there are many gifts of gems from you for Sudās. VII.53.3

16. Aditi and Mitra and Varuṇa offer protection to Sudās. VII.60.8

17. May Aryamā drive away to a distance his enemies; make the world wide for Sudās. VII.60.9

18. May Mitra and Varuṇa speak on behalf of Sudās. VII.64.3

19. For Sudās when surrounded in the battle of the ten kings, Indra and Varuṇa came to the protection of Sudās. VII.83.8

In all these places where there is a mention of the protection which Sudās received from the various gods, there is no case where another king of the Vedic region is spoken of as the enemy. It is in the 18th poem¹¹ in the seventh Book, that Vāśiṣṭha speaks of the waters of the Paruṣṇī in connection with Sudās. There is a similar statement about the waters of the river by Viśvāmitra in III.53.9¹². The most that we can say is that there was some trouble for Sudās on the banks of the Paruṣṇī river on account of the flood and that the waters subsided to let him cross the river, through the help of the gods.

Now we have to consider whether any of the five kings spoken of as constituting "the five peoples" afford any clue to

¹¹ Verse 8, 9. In verse 5, Indra made the waters of flooded rivers fordable.

¹² Where there is a dialogue between Viśvāmitra and the two rivers Vipāt and Śutudrī, which he wanted to cross, when they were in floods.

their enmity towards Sudās and also whether any of them deserve to be condemned as not performing the worship according to the Vedic practice current at that time. These are being taken up one by one.

1 *Yadu*

The word occurs once in the plural and in all the other cases in the singular. That must be the name of an individual.

1. We invoke from afar Turvaśa, Yaḍu, Ugradeva, Navavāstva, Bṛhadratha and Turvīti. I.36.18

2. You protected the heroic Turvaśa, Yadu, Turvīti, Vayya, O Indra of hundred powers. I. 54. 6

3. When you stood among the Yadus, Turvaśas, Druhyus, Anus and Pūrus. I.108.8

This is the one place where all the five names occur as peoples; in other places, the name occurs in the singular as that of an individual king.

4. Indra let loose the waters, for Turvaśa and Yadu V. 31. 8

5. O Indra, take Turvaśa and Yadu across safe. I.174.9

6. Indra brought from afar Turvaśa and Yadu. VI.45.1

7. May we see Turvaśa and Yadu, O Indra. VIII.4.7

8. Maruts protected Turvaśa and Yadu VIII.7.18

Here Kaṇva is also mentioned along with the two.

9. Aśvins protected Druhyu, Anu, Turvaśa and Yadu VIII.10.5

10. Indra helped Turvaśa and Yadu VIII.45.27

11. Soma destroyed the forts for the sake of Divodāsa with his mind directed in this way, and then Sambara; later Turvaśa and Yadu. IX.61.2

Here Sāyana says that Turvaśa and Yadu were the enemies of Divodāsa. Here it is not Sudās that is mentioned.

12. I (Indra) made Turvaśa and Yadu to listen to me. X.49.8

12. Yadu and Turvaśa gave away two Dāsas along with cows. X.62.10

In all the places Yadu is coupled with Turvaśa ; in one place there is mention of the five peoples ; in another place three of the kings are mentioned together, one of whom is Yadu, the others are Druhyu and Anu, without Turvaśa. In one place Kaṇva too comes in. In one case, where Yadu and Turvaśa are mentioned along with Śambara, who definitely is an enemy, there is an indication that Divodāsa had to fight battles against Yadu and Turvaśa ; this poem is by Amahiyu of the Aṅgiras family. But nothing is said about Sudās having Yadu and Turvaśa as enemies. Divodāsa is supposed to be the father of Sudās. Śambara is often mentioned as the enemy of Divodāsa.

In I.112.4 and IV.26.3 Divodāsa is mentioned along with Atithigva and in I.130.7 there is Pūru also coming in along with Atithigva, in mentioning Divodāsa.

In I.116.18, VI.16.5 and VI.31.4, Divodāsa is coupled with Bharadvāja ; in VII.18.25, Divodāsa is definitely mentioned as the father of Sudās.

In VI.61.1 Bharadvāja speaks of Sarasvatī as having given Divodāsa to Vadhryaśva as one who would redeem his debt (as a son?). Sudās is also spoken of as the descendant of Pejavana, as Paijavana, in VII.18.22, 23, 25.

We have to examine the only place where Turvaśa and Yadu are mentioned along with Śambara ; here there is no doubt that the Soma destroyed the forts and also Śambara. There are many other places where Divodāsa is mentioned and along with it the destruction of Śambara is also stated. In the verse itself, there is no verb ; the verb has to be taken from the previous verse. The three verses (IX.61.1, 2, 3) must be taken together. The three verses will be :

O Soma, flow all around for this drink, who during the exhilaration the ninety-nine, destroyed (1), the forts for Divodāsa with his mind directed in this way. Turvaśa Yadu (2) All around, strew for us horse along with cows and gold, and food a thousand-fold. (3)

Is it possible that Yadu and Turvaśa, described as the favourites of the gods, should be reckoned along with the enemy Śambara and spoken of as having been killed by Indra? The reference here in these verses is to Indra. With the destruction of the forts and Śambara, one and a half verses are over; then it is said that "later (Adha) Turvaśa and Yadu (in accusative), are mentioned and the verse ends. I am not able to get at the construction.

II *Turvaśa*

Since Turvaśa and Yadu are mentioned together, this name may be taken up at this stage. There are half a dozen places where his name appears alone.

1 When, O Aśvins, you two remain in the distance when you remain in Turvaśa, you come hither with the chariot. I.47-7

2 Indra gave away Turvaśa to Śṛṇjaya. VI.27-7.

Śṛṇjaya is the son of Devavāta, being called Daivavāta in IV.15-4 and VI.27-7. The name of Devavāta appears as the name of a king in III.23-2, where Devavāta is mentioned along with Devaśravas as belonging to the Bharata family.

3 There is one place where the two names come together as a compound word: Indra took across Turvaśa-yadū, who did not know how to swim, knowing their plight. Here it may be noted that Sāyaṇa reads the story of the curse of Yayāti on Yadu and Turvaśa, whereby they became ineligible for Snāna (coronation) and made them eligible for the throne. That is what Sāyaṇa means by "taking across." There are two more places where the points require some close study:

4 Turvaśa desired to perform a sacrifice; like fish in water he went forward, for securing riches. The Bhṛguś and the Druhyus spoke about this. The friend took the friend through the middle of the two people. I am not sure what the Bhṛguś and the Druhyus actually did. One thing is certain and that is that Indra took his friend, who must be Turvaśa, through the middle of the two groups. There must have been some occasion for Indra to take Turvaśa across the groups of Bhṛgu

and Druhyu. Now, the Druhyus are supposed to be one among "the five peoples" who made an alliance against Sudās; here Druhyu and Turvaśa seem to be put into opposite camps. Sāyaṇa has two explanations for this verse.

5 In order to give some praiseworthy favour to Atithigva, Indra is asked to do something towards Turvaśa and Yadu. The word used is *śiśibi*. Grassmann translates it as throwing into the bottom. Ludwig translates it as "to make humble". Sāyaṇa explains it as "bring under control" (of Atithigva). It must be remembered that in the previous poem Vaśiṣṭha seems to be favourable towards Turvaśa. I do not know how to explain the enmity of the same poet to him in this poem.

Atithigva is mentioned along with Divodāsa and Trasadasyu in I.112.14, along with Divodāsa alone in IV.26.3, with Āyu and Kutsa in VI.1813, and alone in X.448.8. Kutsa and Āyu are coupled with Atithigva in I.53.10; here it is Suśravasa who was helped by Indra and it seems that Indra handed over the throne to this young king. This must be another Atithigva.

But in the 8th verse, just before this, Indra is spoken of as having killed Karañja and Parṇaya with the weapons of Atithigva. In I.51.6 Indra is spoken of as having killed Śambara for the sake of Atithigva. In I.13.7, Indra killed Śambara for the sake of Atithigva. He also destroyed the ninety nine forts for Pūru. Here both are put together in the same verse.

In VI.26.3 Indra did what was praiseworthy for Atithigva. In VI.47.22, the poets received riches of Atithigva from Divodāsa, what were taken away from Śambara. The expression, "doing something that was praiseworthy for the sake of Atithigva" is common in VI.26.3 and VII.19.8. Therefore, perhaps in both we have to say that Indra had harmed some one. In VII.19.8, it is Turvaśa and Yadu. But in the previous poem, Vaśiṣṭha indicates some favour done to the same Turvaśa.

Although Turvaśa is put in opposition to some kings, it is not in opposition to Sudās; Divodāsa comes into this picture and Divodāsa is mentioned as the father of Sudās. Divodāsa and Atithigva are identical in most of the places. In the case of

Divodāsa, there is some difficulty. Divodāsa appears in various capacities. It has already been said that he is coupled with Atithīgva; perhaps both are the same. Then Divodāsa is mentioned along with Bharadvāja:

When you two, O Aśvins, rushed forward through the path for the sake of Divodāsa, for the sake of Bharadvāja.
I. 116. 18

You two (Aśvins) give much to Divodāsa, these gifts that are covetable, to Bharadvāja who makes the offerings.
VI. 16. 5

Aśvins broke up the forts of the enemy for the sake of Divodāsa, for the sake of Bharadvāja. VI. 31. 4
In the last two verses, the poet is Bharadvāja himself. Divodāsa is the son of Vadhryāśva. Sarasvatī gave to Vadhryāśva, Divodāsa as one who would terminate his debts (son). The word Divodāsa appears as plural also meaning, perhaps, the members of his family or his descendents. Indra is spoken of as being praised by Divodāsa. The poet named Paruccheṣa who composed the poems from I. 127 to 139 is described as the son of Divodāsa; there is also Pratardana, the king of Kāśī, who is the son of Divodāsa and who is the poet for IX.96 and for X. 179.2; that is, he is the author of a whole poem and a verse in another poem, the second in a poem of three verses, the first being the composition of Śibi, the son of Uśīnara and the third being the composition of Vasumanas, son of Rohidaśva.

6. When people invoke you from east, west, north and south, then you (Indra) become praised by people very much; but you remain in Turvaśa the hero (Ānava, related to Anu). Sāyaṇa thinks that Ānava means "the son of the king Anu".
(VIII.4.1)

III Anu

1. The Anus made for Indra a horse for the chariot. V.31.4. The word is taken in its generic sense of "men," by some.
2. Six thousand and sixty hundred and sixty and six heroes the Anus, and Druhyus fell asleep, when they were eager to

secure cows, as a retribution (*Duvoyu*). Such were all the activities of Indra. VII. 18. 14 Sāyana takes the word *Duvoyu* as a dative with the suffix dropped to mean "for the sake of Sudās who was making offerings." This whole poem I will take up for examination, later.

3. The Aśvins are invoked to come to Druhyus, Anus, Turvaśa and Yadu. VIII. 10. 5

There are a few places where the word occurs as *Ānava*, "relating to Anu." And is used also in the sense of "man" and not as any particular name. It is in this sense that the word occurs in the form of *Ānava*, "relating to Anu."

IV *Druhyu*

There are two places where the term occurs alone and in these two places it denotes some enemies. This is in VII.18, which will be separately taken up later. In this verse, it occurs once, in the 14th verse, where also it is the enemy that is meant and here there is association with the *Ānavas*. In all the other places the term occurs along with Yadu, Truvaśa and Pūru; in all such cases the *Druhyus* are the favourites of the gods.

V *Pūru*

This word means both men, like Anu, and also a king or a people of that name. In this latter sense, it never occurs alone, coming, as it does, with the other names. In one place, it occurs along with the *Druhyus* and there it is the name of the enemy; this is in VII.18.14

Practically in all the places where the names occur, they are given as the favourites of Indra and of the Aśvins. There is only one context in which we have to consider the question rather carefully and that is the poem of Vāśiṣṭha where the names appear as enemies. We will take up such of the verses in this poem where there is such a statement or indication. The poem is VII.18

1. In the fifth verse it is said that Indra made the waters

shallow for Sudās. It is also said that Śimyu was done some harm. There is nothing to show that Śimyu was an associate of the five peoples who attacked Sudās, as explained in modern interpretations; he is a Dāsa or an enemy like the Dāsas; the word is used in the plural in this sense.

2. In the sixth verse it is said that Indra took Turvaśa between the two, when the Bhṛguś and the Druhyus tried to do him some harm. Sāyaṇa has a different story.

3. Five peoples addressed Indra, the Pakhtas, the Bhalānas, the Alīnas, the Viṣaṇins and the Śivas. But Indra, the friend of the Ārya, carried away the cows and went to war on behalf of the Tṛtsus, against the valorous men.

The verse is not at all clear. Sāyaṇa takes the word Tṛtsu to mean "enemies." I do not know whether the word Tṛsubhyaḥ is a dative or an ablative. Sāyaṇa takes it as ablative and says that Indra took away the cows from the enemies. I think that the last piece means "they went to war against the valorous men". Sāyaṇa takes the word *ajagan* as *ajagat* and interprets it as meaning "revived".

I feel that in the sixth verse, Indra helped Turvaśa against the Bhṛguś and the Tṛtsus. In that case, it is quite possible that he took away the cows from the Tṛtsus and went to war against them, the valorous men. He helped the people mentioned in the first half.

4. It is said in the eighth verse that some people who were the enemies, turned the course of the river Paruṣṇī. But some one, perhaps Indra, came there and filled the place with the earth. Kavi, just a beast, lay down in frustration.

Who is this Kavi? Is it he who filled the place with earth? The verb is *avivyak*, which I translate as filled up. It is from the root *vi-āñc*, to expand. Is it "the five peoples" who turned the course of the river? Is it a step against Sudās? There is no mention of this king in the verse itself. It can as well be that Indra stopped the diversion and stood there like a cow, not being frightened by the waters. There is no doubt that it was the work of some enemies. But whose enemies it could be, this is not clear.

5. They went to the river Paruṣṇī which is not the destination, as if to the destination. He, the quick, went to the close. Indra handed over to Sudās his enemies who talk evil in respect of men. I cannot resist a temptation to read here the action of the enemies of Sudās who went to the river where they should not have gone.

6. In the tenth verse, it is said that they went away, like cows returning from the field of barley without a care-taker, towards the friend, as they desired to do, in a crowd. In the first half nothing is said about the persons who went ; perhaps the words in the third line should be taken as the subject. The words are spotted cows, sent by the spotted cow. And the horses that were strong also followed.

The situation must be that when Sudās was successful, the cows and the horses of the enemy went to him, freely without any sort of restriction, all in a crowd (*citaśaḥ*).

7. In the twelfth verse there are names of Sruta, Kavaṣa and Vṛddha and they were killed by Indra along with the Druhyus. Ludwig included Anu also, reading the particle *Anu* as *Anum* in the accusative. In the next verse there is the word *Ānavasya*. Pūru is also spoken here as talking falsehood (*Mṛdbravācam*). In the next verse, *Ānavas* and *Druhyus* are spoken of as having been sent to sleep (killed) when they tried to take away the cows, perhaps the cows of Sudās.

8. In the eighteenth verse there is a reference to Bheda, whom Sāyana speaks of as the infidel, the nihilist (*Nāstika*) or as the enemy of Sudās. The name appears again in the next verse. In the twentieth verse, *Sambara* is an enemy whom Indra killed. *Sambara* is not an enemy of Sudās specially ; he is a great enemy and for this reason, it must be understood that unless some one is definitely given even in this context as the enemy of Sudās, the mention of an enemy does not mean that he is an enemy of Sudās. Where the term *Tṛtsu* appears, we have to take it as referring to Sudās, as Sudās belongs to the *Tṛtsu* dynasty.

There are twenty five verses in this poem. There are the

names of Kavi, Bheda and Śambara as enemies mentioned here. Kavi is mentioned as an enemy by Sāyaṇa. *Kavi* is a term that means a "poet" in most of its occurrences. Bheda occurs in other poems also of Vāsiṣṭha where there is a reference to the activities of Indra. Thus in VII.33.3 Indra has killed Bheda. In VII.83.4, Indra and Varuṇa protected Sudās after killing Bheda. It is in these poems that there is a reference to the war called *Dāśarājña*. In VII.33, the term occurs in verses 3 and 5. In the third verse it is said that Indra crossed the Sindhu and Indra killed Bheda; it is also said in the same verse that in the *Dāśarājña*, Indra protected Sudās. In the fifth verse it is said that the Vāsiṣṭhas, along with the Tṛtsus standing around them prayed to Indra, with supplications, like people in extreme thirst look to the heaven (for rain). From the third verse, I am inclined to connect Bheda with this *Dāśarājña*. In VII.83 also, the name of Bheda appears and there is the term *Dāśarājña*; there is also the statement of "ten kings" as separate words. The name of Bheda appears in the fourth verse, and in the sixth and seventh verses, it is said that ten kings (*Daśa rājānaḥ*) made an attack on Sudās. The name of Sudās appears in the two verses and in the seventh verse, where the ten kings are spoken of as "those who do not perform the sacrifices" (*Ayajjavah*).

We have to consider these things. There are the Anus and the Druhyus mentioned in VII.18 as enemies. Are they the same as the Anus and the Druhyus mentioned in other contexts as the favourites of the gods? There are cases where the same word appears as the name of different persons. There is the Kutsa, a great poet and a friend of Indra; but there is also mention of Kutsa being an enemy.

Where there is a mention of the battle of the ten kings, not one of the ten kings spoken of by modern scholars in this context appears; the only name that is connected with this battle in the same verse is that of Bheda in VII.32.3. In VII.83, the name of Bheda occurs and there is also the term *Dāśarājña* occurring there, not in the same verse, along with the name of Bheda. There the ten kings are spoken of as those

who do not perform the sacrifices. Certainly Bheda must be one of them.

It is also true that the name of Ānavas and Druhyus is given as in conflict with Sudās. But it is not at all certain that the Ānavas and the Druhyus had anything to do with the *Dāśarājña* battle. There are Druhyus and Anus who are also the favourites of the gods. It is these favourites of the gods that appear along with the three other names of Yadu, Turvaśa and Pūru in a verse. The "Five peoples" (*Pañca Janāḥ*) cannot be the combination of these five; they are the great favourites of the gods and it is impossible that the *Pañcajanas* did not contain the Bharatas. There is also nothing to show that the Pakhtas and others mentioned in VII.18.7 had combined with these "Five peoples" against Sudās.

I do not know when the story started in modern research. But all the same, it is as old as the beginning of Vedic research. The theory of the Aryan Migration has done great harm by putting the Dravidians and the Aryans into opposite camps. This theory of the battle of the ten kings has given rise to the view that there had been frequent quarrels among the Vedic people, that there was no national unity among them.

In my subsequent article on "the Kings and their Role in the R̥gveda", I am presenting the names of all the kings to find out how much of internal feud there had been among the Vedic people. I know that there had been such feuds in Greece, between the Athenians and the Spartans and jealousy between the Athenians and the Macedonians, the latter of which made the life of Aristotle rather uncomfortable when he settled down in Athens with his Lysium. But India's records are different. There was only a foreign invasion, which was repulsed completely by the Indians hero.

C. KUNHAN RAJA

MISCELLANY

A Note on the "Pusyamitras" of the Bhitari Inscription

In an interesting talk¹ on the famous Bhitari Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta, the last great Gupta Emperor, Sri S. V. Sohoni remarked that the reading of some of the passages of the inscription by Fleet needs re-appraisal and re-construction to give a fuller and convincing meaning of the same. He referred to only two verses² and raised some important points, one of which concerned the reading of the term, *Pusyamitrāṁśca* by Fleet and generally accepted by scholars (of course, with one exception referred to in the following lines). The term, inspite of all plausible arguments advanced so far, reads vague and confusing.

In fairness to the learned scholar, we must say that his reconstruction of the above passages and his own interpretation thereof is very valuable though opinions may yet differ. His reading राष्ट्रमित्रांश्च instead of पुष्यमित्रांश्च and लब्ध्वा in place of जित्वा is very important and needs elaborate discussion, for it shatters the entire fabric of the age-old established

¹ The talk was organised in the Council Room of the Bihar Research Society, Patna under the auspices of the Society on July 20, 1960.

² Fleet. *CII*, III, 55, Vs. 3-4:—

“विनय-वल-सुनीतैर्विवकमेण

प्रतिदिनमभियोगादीप्सितं येन ल[ब्ध्वा]

स्वभिसत्-विजिगीषा प्रोद्यतानां परेषां ।

प्रणिहित इव ले [भे] [स] विधानोपदेशः [॥ *] 3.

विचलित-कुल-लक्ष्मी-सम्भनायोद्यतेन

क्षितितल शयनीये येन नीता स्त्रियाभा

समुदित-व[ल]-क्रोशा [न्पुष्यमित्रांश्च] [जि]त्वा

क्षितिप-चरणपोठे-स्थापितो वामपादः [॥ *] 4.

theory of the invasion of the Gupta empire by the Puṣyamitras, generally known as a very ferocious and powerful republican tribe, during the concluding years of the reign of Kumāragupta I, whom Skandagupta, the crown-prince, is said to have defeated and crushed, and thus rescued the ebbing fortunes of the Guptas for some time.

I

We give below a summary of the arguments advanced by Śrī Sohoni in support of his contention, bearing on the two important verses referring to the Puṣyamitras, and their defeat at the hands of Skandagupta. Accordingly ले[भे] in verse 3 (line 4) should be read as लो[के] and पुष्यमित्रांश्च as राष्ट्रमित्रांश्च. In other words, “समुदितबलकोशा[न्राष्ट्रमित्रांश्च] लब्ध्वा” etc., refer to बल, कोष, राष्ट्र and मित्र—the four inseparable elements of the State, which, according to ancient Indian political thinkers, must consist of seven elements or constituents, enumerated by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra*.³

According to Fleet, the fourth verse contained a reference to the Puṣyamitra community of Central India as a power which had caused the temporary downfall of the Gupta empire. According to Sohoni, however this verse was based on an application of the *Saptāṅga* theory of the State. Accordingly, seven elements composed the State and out of these, three were admittedly mentioned in one line of this verse, referred to above. There was also a reference to these elements being combined favourably by Skandagupta himself. Thus, this verse was based on a contrast between two situations: the first in which Skandagupta had to fight his adversary single-handed in the course of which he was without any resources and had to sleep on the bare ground for one tedious night; and the second, in which he proudly placed

3 Vide—the Saptāṅga theory of the State.

his left foot on the royal footstool, and not "on a foot-stool which was the king (of that tribe)⁴ himself" as suggested by Fleet.⁵

If this re-construction of the passages be accepted, there is no doubt that the verses give us a fuller meaning than the one given by Fleet. Moreover, this interpretation fits in with the expression "विचलित-कुललक्ष्मी..." etc. In the light of this new re-construction it may be suggested that the fortunes of the Gupta dynasty had gone to the lowest ebb because of the internal and external troubles. Skandagupta rose to the occasion and by re-organising the four vital elements of the statecraft, noted above, restored the sinking power, glory and prestige of the Guptas to its former position. And, having thus put the resources of the empire on a very stable footing, he fought against the most formidable enemies of the empire, i.e., the Hūṇas and ultimately defeated them.

II

The knotty problem, however, remains—who were the Puṣyamitras then? Some scholars believe that they were not a tribe in the strict sense of the term. H. R. Divekar,⁶ first of all, made the plausible emendation युध्य-भ्रमितांश्च for Fleet's reading पुष्यमितांश्च in the inscription in question, which means "enemies in war." This, in other words, signifies the enemies of the empire in general, and not a particular tribe or tribes. Scholars, however, are generally agreed on this point that during the concluding years of Kumāragupta's reign, the Gupta empire was facing a severe crisis as a result of which it

4 meaning the Puṣyamitras, according to Fleet and followed by others; cf. the following line क्षितिप-चरणपोठे-स्थापितो वामपादः in verse 4.

5 Fleet's translation, *CII*, III, 55 ff.

6 Cf. his article "Puṣyamitras in the Gupta period" in *ABORI*, 1919-20, pp. 99 ff.

had been made tottering. Fleet's reading and argument suggest that one of the major causes leading to the fall and dismemberment of the Imperial Gupta line was the ferocious invasion of the Gupta Empire by the Puṣyamitras.

Jayāśwal believed that the Puṣyamitras were in western Mālava and were known, in the Gupta period, as Āvantyas who were under or in the confederacy of the Ābhīras. It is further argued that they rose to such a height of power that they nearly uprooted the Gupta dynasty. Skandagupta, no doubt, after a lot of efforts, succeeded in stemming the tide, but "the subsequent history of Hindu India might have received a different turn had they (Puṣyamitras) reached Pāṭaliputra and made it the seat of their republican government."⁷ But the issue was decided otherwise. The Puṣyamitras retired but the glory of the Guptas never returned. "Further", according to Jayaswal, "there seems to be a strange fatality in the history of the Guptas. They rose to power with the help of a republic, they abolished ancient republicanism and in turn were shaken off their foundation by a republic. The Puṣyamitras, having executed this historical revenge, withdrew in the mystic past."⁸

Now, if we take the Puṣyamitras to be a powerful republican tribe, what is the basis of such a hypothesis? In the case of other ancient republics like the Licchavis, the Yaudheyas, the Mālavas and others we have both literary and archaeological sources to enlighten us on their historic activities. But the Puṣyamitras are nowhere referred to, not even in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, which is a veritable encyclopaedia of the States—tribal or otherwise worth the name, that flourished during the time of the Guptas. Nor have we any such reference to this so-called powerful republican tribe who is believed to have "nearly uprooted the Gupta dynasty" and "executed historical revenge" in

7 Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity* (2nd ed.), pp. 163-64.

8 *Ibid.*, 163-64.

any of the earlier or later epigraphs. Their mystic existence, therefore, arouses genuine suspicion regarding their so-called historic role during the period under review.

III

It is thus very difficult to determine whether the reference in the inscription is simply to *amitras* (enemies) or to *Puṣyamitras*. We have, however, a seeming reference to a people called *Puṣyamitra* in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*,⁹ and probably also, according to some scholars, in the Jaina *Kalpasūtra*,¹⁰ though the latter is quite vague and doubtful. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* says: ".....From them will proceed thirteen sons; then three Bāhlikas; and Puṣpamitra and Paṭumitra, and others, to the number of thirteen, who will rule over Mekalā."¹¹ Then we have the following verse: "पुष्पमितोऽथ राजन्यो दुर्मितोऽस्य तथैव च..." i.e., "Puṣpamitra, a king, and then Durmitra." Who or what they were is not clear. The commentator says: "Puṣpamitra was another king: Durmitra was his son."¹² According to Wilson, this is just a "careless and inaccurate compilation," and the *Vāyu Purāṇa* accords better with our text. It says: "Pravīra will have four sons. When the Vindhya race is extinct, there will be three Bāhlika kings—Supratika, Nabhīra who will reign thirty years and Śakyamānābhava, king of the Mahiṣas. The Puṣpamitras will then be, and the Paṭumitras, also, who will be seven kings of Mekalā. Such is the generation."¹³ Thus, we

⁹ Wilson, IV. 24. 17.

¹⁰ SBE., XXII. 292.

¹¹ Wilson, pp. 211-13. The text of the passage runs as follows:—
तत्पुमास्थयोदशैव बाह्लिकाश्च तयः । ततः पुष्पमितपदुमिताधास्तयोदश ।

मेकलाश्च ।.....

¹² *Ibid.*, 214:—"अथ पुष्पमितो नामान्यो राजन्यः । अस्य च दुर्मितो

नाम पुत्रः

¹³ Cf. the following verses:—

तस्य (प्रवीरस्य) पुत्रास्तु यत्वारो भविष्यन्ति नराधिपाः
विन्ध्यकानां कुलेऽस्तीति नृपा वं बाह्लिकाश्चयः

are not told where the Puṣyamitras and the Paṭumitras—probably dynasties which derived their names from the founders, Puṣyamitra and Paṭumitra—will reign. Moreover, there is no mention of their territories in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* as there is of Mekalā in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. In other words, we are told nothing about their activities save their names. “If we suppose”, observes Wilson,” that our text which here is in prose, and therefore liable to vitiation should read पुष्यमित्राश्च it will harmonise with the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, in not defining the number of the Puṣyamitras and in recognising the Paṭumitras as thirteen.”¹⁴

The assertion of Ray Chaudhuri that “the *Purāṇa* text associates the Puṣyamitras, Paṭumitras, Durmitras and others with the region of Mekalā near the source of the Nerbudda”¹⁵ does not seem convincing for the Puṣyamitras are definitely not associated with any particular region whatever, either in the *Viṣṇu* or in the *Vāyu Purāṇas*. They are simply referred to by names, and nothing more. Moreover, the above texts are so confusing and vague that in the present state of our knowledge it is very difficult to determine whether the term “Puṣyamitra” refers to a particular king or to a tribe. Their association with Mekalā, as suggested by Ray Chaudhuri, in fact, lacks confirmation from any other source, literary or otherwise.¹⁶

Archaeological sources have very little to enlighten us on this otherwise obscure problem. We have a legend *Pusamitasa* found on Bhīṣṭa seals.¹⁷ According to Marshall, on the Kuṣāṇa level, i.e., on the lower floor were found varieties of potteries, a female figurine of rough make, and several seals, among which

सुपतीको नभोरश्च समा भोक्ष्यन्ति लिंशतिः

शक्यमानाभवो राजा महिषीणां महीपतिः

पुष्यमित्रा भविष्यन्ति पटुमित्रास्तथैव च (or पटुमित्रास्तथोदश)

मेकलायां नृपाः सप्त भविष्यन्तीति संततिः” (quoted *Ibid.* 214).

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, 215.

¹⁵ *PHAI.* 4, 478-79. Also see p. 485, fn. 2 pp. 486-88.

¹⁶ For different views, cf. Fleet, *JRAS.*, 1899, p. 228.

¹⁷ *JRAS.*, 1911, p. 138.

was one with the legend *nigama* in Kuṣāṇa characters, and another reading *Pusamitasa* in characters of the same (ie., Kuṣāṇa) or a somewhat earlier date.¹⁸ Scholars are generally inclined to ascribe this seal to the so-called Puṣyamitra tribe noted above. But it has not been explained what this term *Pusamitasa* really stands for. *Pusamitasa* generally means *Puṣyamitrasya* (of Puṣyamitra). Thus, this term tends to suggest the name of a king, and not of a tribe. Added to it is the consideration of the date which tallies more or less with the period of Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty.

Besides this, we have no coins of Puṣyamitras, as we have in the case of the Yaudheyas, the Mālavas and other ancient republics to throw light on their republican character. Barring the doubtful reference to them in the Bhitarī Pillar inscription we have no mention of this tribe in any of the epigraphs earlier or later. There are no literary evidences except the dubious one in the *Viṣṇu* and *Vāyu Purāṇas*, of which authenticity is not reliable and very much vague, and hence it does not merit much credence. In other words, this slender piece of evidence is not substantiated by any other information, literary or archaeological.

It is thus surprising that such a powerful and vigorous republican tribe, which is said to have practically shattered the fabric of the vast and invincible Gupta empire, should have been so ignored by our ancient writers. Unfortunately, for us, we have no such accounts, as left by Greek historians of other ancient republics, to lift us out of this veil of obscurity and mystery that surround the history of this brave tribe. Their rise, as it were, was like a meteor that shot up into the sky and soon disappeared into nothingness. Whatever the fact, it appears that the theory of their invasion of the Gupta empire in the Bhitarī inscription, is unfounded as it is not at all supported by any other evidence, nor do we have any mention of their heroic exploits anywhere. It was

undoubtedly the Hūṇas who were responsible for the sudden shake up of the Gupta empire in the time of Skandagupta. As we have references to the Puṣyamitras in the *Purāṇas*, noted above, suggesting their somewhat tribal or dynastic character,¹⁹ it is possible to assume that they were possibly a small republican tribe, like other tribes, or a small monarchical tribal state but with no creditable political achievements to their credit, in any period of Indian history. They rose, flourished and ultimately perished in the vast sub-continent of India like so many petty tribal states which history has not cared to record.

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19 It may also be suggested that "Puṣyamitra" may have been the honorific title of the kings of this dynasty after the name of its founder. We have numerous such instances in the history of India and also elsewhere. The kings of the Janaka dynasty of Mithilā were all known as Janaka after the name of the founder, Mithi Janaka (cf. the author's book, *History of Mithilā*, Chap. II). So was the case with the well-known "Caesars" of Rome and "Kaisers" of Germany and many other dynasties in world-history.

It is a matter of gratification that a new edition of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* has been published by the Asiatic Society. Calcutta.

Sixty years ago, in 1903, Asiatic Society published the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* with the *Pañjikā* of Prajñākaramati. Prof. Louis de la Vallée Poussin edited it. It has been out of print for a long time. The present edition is made by Prof. Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, a scholar as eminent as the former editor.

It is a complete edition of the text. It contains all the *ślokas* of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* in ten chapters.

The first edition was very rich and useful, because it contained the *Pañjikā* which is no less important than the text.

The present edition is devoid of the *Pañjikā* but rich with the addition of one hundred ninety-three *ślokas* which were not available in the first edition. The present edition contains also the Tibetan translation (in Tibetan script) of the text. It will be a valuable text book for students devoted to Indo-Tibetan Studies.

The late lamented Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya had barely completed his edition when death snatched him away from us. He had no time to revise it. His students well-versed in both Sanskrit and Tibetan were not near him; and so they could not help him in this difficult task. In such circumstances, as is natural, some mistakes have crept in.

It is a sacred duty for his past students to check and correct those mistakes. The present writer is one of his humble students who had the good fortune to be intimately associated with him for more than twenty years. In this paper an attempt is made to check mistakes and improve some of the readings of the additional *ślokas* with the help of the Tibetan translation. Printing mistakes are also checked and corrected:

CHAPTER III

Improvement upon the Additional ślokas

Page	Sloka	Line	
37	29	2	Read: <i>bhavādhva-bhramaṇa-śrānta-jagad-viś-rāma-pādapah</i> for °śrānto jagad.° Tib. <i>srid. lam. 'khyams. śiñ. dub. pa. yi. 'gro. ba' i. ñal. bso'i. ljon. śiñ. yin.</i> The copy that I have with me reads: °śrānta.°

CHAPTER IV

42	11	2	Read: <i>dolāyamānaḥ saṁsāre bhūmi-prāptau cirāyate</i> for °bhūmi-prāptaś °cirāyate. Tib. <i>sa. thob. pa. la. yun. riñ. thogs.</i> My copy reads: °prāptau.
43	15	1	Read: <i>kadā tathāgatotpādaṁ śraddhām mānuṣyam eva ca</i> , for °śyam eva vā. Tib reads: °dañ. My copy reads: <i>ca.</i>
44	21	1	Read: <i>eka-kṣaṇa-kṛtāt pāpāt</i> (my copy and Tib. support this) for °kṣaṇāt kṛtāt.° <i>avicaḥ kalpam āsyate</i> for °āpsyate; my copy <i>āsyate</i> . Tib. <i>gnas. 'gyur. na.</i>
45	25	2	My copy reads: <i>ciraṁ dhakṣyaty aśikṣitam</i> . But <i>dhakṣyati niścitaṁ</i> is supported by Tib. <i>gdon. mi. za.</i>
46	28	2	Read: <i>na śūrā na ca te prājñāḥ</i> for <i>na surā</i> °. Tib. <i>dpa'a. mdzañs. min.</i> My copy reads: <i>śūrā.</i>
50	43	1	Read: <i>atra grabhī bhaviṣyāmi baddha-vairāś ca vigrabhī</i> for <i>atra grbhī</i> °. Tib.: <i>bdag. gis. žen. bya žiñ.</i> According to my copy: <i>grabhī.</i>

Printing Mistakes

Page	Śloka	line	
40	4	1	Read: <i>yadi caiva</i> (separately).
40	6	1	Read: <i>udghuṣya</i> .
48	35	4	Read: <i>tiṣṭhanti</i> .
48	37	2	Read: <i>prasabhaṃ</i> . Tib. <i>nan. gyis</i> .
49	39	3	Read: <i>mahārtha</i> ⁰ . Tib.: <i>don. chen</i> ⁰ .

CHAPTER VIII

165	111	1	Read: <i>abhyāsād anyadiyeṣu śukra-śoṇita-binduṣu</i> for <i>asāreṣu anya</i> ⁰ . My copy reads: <i>abhyāsād</i> ⁰ . Tib.: <i>goms. pa. yis. ni. gzan. dag. gi. khu. ba...</i> Cf. <i>Pañjikā</i> under śloka 91: <i>yathā 'bhyāsād ekatvā' dhyavasāyo'smin kāye ekatvam antareṇā'pi. tathā' nekaprakāre jagaty api</i> ⁰ . See also ślokas: 115, 117, 119.
167	118	1	According to my copy: <i>adhy atiṣṭhad ato nāthaḥ suvānāmāpy avalokitah</i> which is better than <i>'tiṣṭhad atho</i> ⁰ . Tib.: <i>'de. bas</i> ⁰ .
172	137	1	According to my copy: <i>niścayaṃ kuru he manaḥ</i> Tib.: <i>yid. khyod</i> ⁰ .
177	157	2	Read: <i>bauddha-sampat-sukhān-muktā nā' bhaviṣyad iyaṃ daśā</i> for <i>bauddhaṃ sampat-sukhaṃ</i> ⁰ .

Printing Mistakes

168	122	1	Read: <i>yo māndya-kṣut</i> ⁰ for <i>yo mandya kṣut</i> ⁰ .
174	146	1	Read: <i>'vaktrasthe naivā'sya</i> .
174	148	1	Read: omit <i>visarga(:)</i> in <i>prakaṭā</i> .
175	152	2	Read: <i>paribhokṣye</i> for <i>'moksye</i> . Tib.: <i>yoṅs. su. spyod</i> .

Page Sloka Line

178 161 1 *cyāvaya* is the better reading ; so reads my copy.

179 168 2 Read: ⁰*doṣās-tvad*⁰ (so in my copy). Tib.: *khyod (tvad)*.

CHAPTER X

229 3 2 Read: *bodhisattva-sukha-prāptam bhavatu avirataṁ jagat* for ⁰*sukhaṁ prāptum bhavaty*⁰ (⁰*tām*,⁰ my copy). Tib.: lit.: *jagad avirataṁ bodhisattva-sukhadhārāṁ prāpnotu* (⁰*dpa'a. yi. bde. ba. rgyun. mi. 'chad. thob. śog*).

230 7 1 Read: *kādamba-kāraṇḍava-cakravāka*⁰ for *dātyūha-kāraṇḍava*⁰. There is no *dātyūha* in Tib. My copy reads: *kādamba*⁰. Tib.: *mtshin. ril. = kādamba ; nur. pa. = cakravāka ; nan. pa. = kāraṇḍava, haṁsa; bžad. = haṁsa, sārāsa*.

231 9 1 Read: *aṅgāra-taptotpala-śāstra*⁰ (so in my copy). Tib.: *mtshon. gyi. char (śāstra*⁰). So there is no need of keeping *śa* within third brackets ; and query is unnecessary.

232 12 3 Read: *kim idam iti sukhenā hlāditānām akasmād* for ⁰*hlāditāṁ nāma kasmād*. Tib.: *glo. bur. bde. bas. tshim. pa. 'di. ci. bsam. Cf. śloka 11, 1st pāda: trastāḥ paśyantu akasmād*.

234 18 1 Delete no. 1, on *preta* and also delete footnote no. 1, as the word *preta* is there. Cf. Tib.: 3rd line (*yi. dvags. rnams. ni. tshim. byas. śin*).

Page	Sloka	Line	
237	28	2	Read: <i>nirduandā nirupāyāsāḥ</i> (my copy) <i>santu svādhīna-ṛttayāḥ</i> for ° <i>nirupāyās tāḥ</i> . Tib.: 'tshe. med. par. Cf. Pali: <i>upāyāsa</i> = trouble, unrest, disturbance. <i>anupāyāsa</i> — peacefulness, serenity.
237	30	2	Read: <i>prāpnuvantūccatām nīcā hatamānā bhavantu ca</i> , for <i>prāpnuvantu ca tām nīcā hata°</i> . Tib.: <i>ma. rabs. rnam. ni. mtho. thob. ciñ. ña. rgyal. dag. kyañ. bcom. par. śog.</i> "May the depressed be uplifted and freed from pride."
242	51	2	Read: <i>yāvat-pramuditā</i> (my copy)- <i>bhūmim</i> for ° <i>pramuditām bhū°</i> . Tib.: <i>sa. rab. dga'. ba. thob. bar. du. (pramuditābbhūmer ā prāpteḥ)</i> .
243	54	2	<i>yathā carati mañjuśrīḥ</i> is the reading of my copy which is supported by Tib.: <i>ji. ltar. 'jam. dbyaṅs. spyod. mdzad. pa.</i>

Printing Mistakes

229	1	2	Read: <i>tena sarve janāḥ santu bodhi-caryā-vibhūṣaṇāḥ</i> for <i>tena sarvaṃ° bodhi-caryā vibhūṣaṇāḥ</i> (separated).
230	4	1-2	Read: <i>narakāḥ</i> for <i>nārakāḥ</i> and read <i>sukhāvatī-sukhāmodair</i> .
230	7	2	Read: <i>bīdyā</i> .

Here I have pointed out some mistakes and suggested some improvements as well as corrected the printing mistakes, only

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 of the additional *ślokas*. There are defects and printing mistakes also in other parts of the work:

(i) Variant readings of different MSS. and the Tibetan translation are not exhaustively recorded; (ii) variant readings found in the text of Minaev or in the JBS. are very rarely quoted, unlike the edition of Poussin. For example:

Page 1, *śl.* 2, *l.* 4; here Minaev and Text-MSS. read: *bhāvayitum* which is not recorded.

Page 8, *śl.* 23, *l.* 2; here Minaev and Text-MSS. read: *devānām vā ṛṣṇām vā*, this is not recorded.

Page 103, *śl.* 92, *l.* 2; *kim akṣarāṇi bhakṣyāṇi*; Tib reading is different: *kim akṣaraiḥ kartavyam* (*tshig. 'bru. rnam, kyis. ci. žig. bya.*). But it is not mentioned in the notes.

As for printing mistakes see p. 4, *śl.* 9, *l.* 2, last word; *l.* 3, first word, p. 9, *śl.* 29, *l.* 2, second word; p. 17, *śl.* 16, *l.* 3, second word, etc.

SUJITKUMAR MUKHOPADHYAYA

REVIEW

RGYAN-DRUG MCHOG-GNYIS. Published by the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok, Sikkim, 1962. Pages 1-53, Plates 1-7 (5 in colour, and two line-drawings).

The Namgyal Institute of Tibetology is doing commendable work since its foundation. It was formally opened by the Prime Minister of India only in October, 1958, and is thus not even five years old. But during the relatively short period of its existence, it has fully justified the deep interest taken in its well-being and development by the exalted royal house of Sikkim.

The Rgyan-Drug Mchog-gnyis is the Institute's first publication. It illustrates five Tibetan *Thankas* originally painted by the sixth in the line of the Gyalwa Karmapa incarnation in the middle of the 17th century A.D. These *Thankas* have long been the heirlooms of the royal Namgyal family of Sikkim, and are beautiful representatives of the Tibetan art of banner-painting. The five colour-plates show the Buddha in *bhūmi-sparsamudrā* and the eight great Masters of Mahāyāna philosophy, such as Āryadeva and Nāgārjuna (2), Asaṅga and Vasubandhu (3), Dignāga and Dharmakīrti (4), and Guṇaprabha and Sākyaprabha (5). Besides these in two other plates (6 and 7) are reproduced thirteen line-drawings illustrating the same subjects in different poses. Each of the five colour-plates is followed by a faithful description of it with a brief reference to the iconographic features and the general character of the subjects represented therein.

This constitutes the first part of sumptuous publication. In its second part is incorporated a brief account of the lives and teachings of the eight Masters prefaced by a similar account of the Buddha's teachings. In this part are reproduced the line-drawings of the Buddha and the great Mahāyāna theologians named above. The account of the lives and thoughts of the Masters is based not only on

standard books on the subject, but also on expert information collected from the Lāmās and other living scholars. These two parts are preceded by a brief but elegant introduction from the pen of his royal highness Sri Pandel Thondup Namgyal, the Maharajkumar of Sikkim and the President of the Institute, and appended by four necessary appendices,—a Sanskrit-Tibetan glossary (1), same place names occurring in the text (2), original sources and traditions (3), and a select bibliography (4).

Thus, the Maharajkumar's observation in the introduction that the intention in bringing out the book was not so much for the use of academic circles as to make known through these great works of religious inspiration the more important aspects of Mahāyāna philosophy and iconography to a wider circle of readers' has been amply justified. The printing, general get up and the illustrations are commendable, and one can unhesitatingly congratulate the authorities responsible for this publication.

J. N. BANERJEA

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Poona-4,
vol. XLI, Parts 1-IV

- K. VISWANATHAM—*Poetic Suggestion and Verbal Renunciation.*
A. D. PUSALKAR—*Literary Background of Rāghavabhaṭṭa, author of Padārthādarśa* (Comm. on Śāradātilaka) and Arthadyotanikā (Comm. on Abhijñānaśakuntalā).
N. G. CHAPEKAR—(I) *Brahma*, (II) *Brāhmaṇa*, (III) *Brāhmaṇaḥ*
G. M. PATIL—*Upaniṣadic References in Bhagavad Gītā.*
V. M. BEDEKAR—*A Study of the Mokṣadharmā Text (Mahābhārata XII. 263) The Cloud as a Divinity.*
SUKUMARI BHATTACHARJĪ—*Rudra from the Vedas to the Mahābhārata.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
Parts 1 & 2; 1962

- J. C. HARLE—*Two Images of Agni and Yajñapurusa in South India.* The writer shows in this paper that the statue on the north Gopura of the Naṭarāja temple at Cidambaram represents Agni, and not Yajñapurusa, that an image of Yajñapurusa in the Jambukeśvara temple in the island of Śrīraṅgam and so far unpublished, does exist; and that images of this exceptional type, represented to some extent both Agni and Yajñapurusa. The author has further established the fact that these images have the unique distinction, among later South Indian icons, of being directly derived from a passage in the Ṛgveda which, in turn, accounts both for their exceptional features and their dual identity.
J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT—*Thomas More and Joseph the Indian.* The purpose of this article is twofold: first, to illustrate by means, particularly, of two examples how far Thomas More based the second book of his masterpieces, "Utopia," upon Indian, or more strictly, indological sources; and secondly, to reintroduce to historians of India "Iosephus Indus," ("Joseph the Indian.")

D. K. BASSETT—*The Trade of the English East India Company in Cambodia, 1651-1656.*

J. C. LARWOOD—*Western Science in India before 1850.* The account begins from seventeenth century and covers all scientific transactions and societies relating to Botany, Zoology, Medicine, Physics, Chemistry, Astronomy, Mathematics. It is also claimed that it was mainly the British who introduced western ideas of science into India, and it is surprising that these show English characteristics. Amateurism and motivation by practical needs led to the western scientific activities in India before 1850.

Our Heritage (Bulletin of the Dept. of Postgraduate Training and Research, Sanskrit College, Calcutta). vol. viii, pt. i, Jan-June, 1960.

DR. JITENDRA NATH MOHANTY—*Nature of Prāmāṇya Theory.*

DR. K. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA—*Ancient Indian Culture : Contacts & Migrants.*

GUSTAV MENSING—*The Phenomenon of Criticism in the History of Religion.*

R. C. HAZRA—*Dharma: its early meaning and scope.*

N. C. SMRITITIRTHA—*Different Varieties of Arthavāda and their Vidhikalpatva.*

S. PANCHATIRTHA—*Riti in Alaṃkāra.*

The Poona Orientalist

vol. XXVI, nos. 3 & 4, July-Oct., 1961

M. M. PATKAR—*Topics of Law and Litigation in the Dharma-sūtras with Glossary.* The topics of law and litigation as expounded in the Dharmasūtras are briefly summarized in this paper. It deals with Evidence, Witnesses, Marriage, Niyoga, Possession & Ownership, Strīdhana, Partition, Law of debt, Svāmipādavivāda, Boundary disputes, Trade-laws, Theft, Gambling and sexual offences. At the end a detailed glossary of legal terms used in the Dharmasūtras is appended. Its importance is enhanced by inclusion of words which are not found in Monier Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary.

P. N. BANERJI—*Ideals of Indian Womanhood in Sanskrit Kāvya Sāhitya*. Indian women have glorified our civilization by steadfastly adhering to the highest standards of chastity, service, self-sacrifice, toleration and suffering with murmur. These ideals are enumerated from Kālidāsa's characterisation of Sītā, Pārvatī, etc.

N. G. CHAPEKAR—*Kṣatriya*.

H. G. NARAHARI—*Nyāyamañjarī Studies*. The Nyāyamañjarī is a very learned work meant for the most advanced student of Nyāya Philosophy. In this paper appears a discussion on the vocabulary of Jayantabhaṭṭa).

N. G. CHAPEKAR—*R̥ṣ*

M. G. PANSE—*Some Peculiar Words from Rauhineya-caritra*. Some noteworthy words together with their meanings as found in the Rauhineya-caritra (or kathānaka), a work written by Devamūrti, are discussed in this paper.

Purāṇa, Varanasi, vol. III, No: 1 January, 1961

JUAN ROGER RIVIERE—*Western Indology and the Purāṇa*.

A. D. PUSALKAR—*Some Significant Allegories in the Purāṇas*.

DASHARATHA SHARMA—*Political Thought and Practice in the Agnipurāṇa*.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI—*The Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa*: edited and translated.

ASOKE CHATTERJI—*The Characteristic Feature of Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Padma Purāṇa*.

SADASHIV A. DANGE—*Rāmaniyakam*. The Island of the Nāgas.

ANANDA SWARUP GUPTA—*The Apocryphal Character of the Extant Brahmapurāṇa*.

S. G. KANTAWALA—*Home of the Matsya Purāṇa*.

RAMSHANKAR BHATTACHARYA—*Purāṇic Concordance*.

Vol. IV, No. 2; July, 1962

PT. RAJESWAR SHASTRI DRAVID—*Bhāratīyārājanīton Purāṇa-pañcalakṣaṇam*. Written in Sanskrit this article brings out an altogether different Pañcalakṣaṇa-definition of the Purāṇas

quoted in the Jayamāṅgalā commentary of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. This definition mentions *dharma* as one of the five characteristics of the Purāṇas, and so it differs from the well-known classical Pañcalakṣaṇa-definition. The writer also has examined the views of some of the modern indologists on the Pañcalakṣaṇa-definition of the Purāṇas. In the end the author has stressed the need of studying the works on Rājanīti for properly editing and interpreting the Purāṇas.

C. A. LEWIS—*The Geographical Text of the Purāṇas : a Further Critical Study*. In this article we have descriptions of Dakṣiṇāpatha, Aparānta-deśa, Vindhyan Region, Himalayan division.

ANAND SWARUP GUPTA—*Purāṇeṣvapaṇinīyaprayogaḥ*. In the present article it is shown that non-Pāṇinian uses which are often held as āṛṣa-prayogas, are mostly due to the exigencies of metre, or to the influence of Prakrit or to both. The writer has divided non-Pāṇinian uses of the Purāṇas into five main heads with several sub-heads. He has also briefly discussed the point that the Purāṇas, and specially their genealogical chapters were originally composed in Prakṛita, and later Sanskritized by the Purāṇic redactors.

Dr. P. HACKER—*The Sāṅkhyization of the Emanation Doctrine shown in a Critical Analysis of Texts*.

Mm. Pt. GIRIDHARA SHARMA CHATURVEDI—*Mudgala-Purāṇa-
viśayasamālocanam*. Review of the topics of the Mudgala-Purāṇa.

Dr. R. C. HAZRA—*The Devī-Purāṇa a Work of Bengal*.

PT. K. V. NILAMEGHACHARYA—*Srīvarāhapurāṇam Srīrāmānuja-
sampradāyaśca*. The writer has discussed the relation of the Varāha-Purāṇa and the Rāmānuja-sect of Vaiṣṇavirm.

Dr. K. V. RAMAKOTI SASTRY—*Telegu Versions of the Purāṇas*.

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society,
vol. h 1, No. 2, July 1960

V. M. APTE—*Support for the Arctic Home Theory from the
Latest (1958) Findings of Science*.

- SADASHIV A. DANGE—*Gajendra Mokṣa (The Genesis)*.
 K. S. RAMACHANDRAN & C. KRISHNAMURTHI—*A Unique Bronze
 Natarāja from Tranquebar*.
 SIBDAS CHAUDHURI—*Contributions to a Buddhistic Bibliography*.
 S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI—*Tantric Hieroglyphics*.

Ibid., vol. h 1, No. 3 October 1960

- K. V. GOPALAKRISHNAN—*Gleanings from Tirukkachur Inscriptions*.
 V. M. APTE—*Vrata in the R̥gveda*.
 MAHDI HUSAIN—*A Short History of Khandesh (1382-1601)*.
 SEVERINA SILVA—*Father Francis Xavier of St. Anne*.
 L. A. KRISHNA IYER—*Matriarchy in Kerala*.

Ibid., vol. h 1, No. 4 January 1961.

- B. K. CHATTERJEE & ARABINDA BASU—*A Historical Account of
 the Agate Industry at Cambay and its Distribution in India*.
 M. G. VENKATESAIAH—*The Behaviour of the Cerebral Phonemes
 in the Kannada Language*.
 K. RAMACHANDRAN—*Bridle Bits from Indian Megaliths*.
 S. K. RAMACHANDRA RAO—*The Buddha's First Discourse*.
 MAHDI HUSAIN—*A Short History of Khandesh (1382-1601)*

The Samskrita Ranga Annual, Madras 1959-6.

- K. KUNJUNNI RAJA—*Kūṭiyāttam: The Staging of Sanskrit
 Plays in the Traditional Kerala Theatre*.
 V. RAGHAVAN—*Kālidāsa as a Dramatist. Mahāśvetā. Punar-
 unmeṣaḥ. A Bibliography of English Translations of Sanskrit
 Dramas*.
 DR. RAGHAVAN—*Aśādhasya Prathama-divase*.

Astronomical Evidence on the Age of the Ṛgveda. 127

174. A summary of position according to *Taitt.-Sam.*, *Tāṇḍya-Br.* and *Kauṣ.-Br.* is given below:

The essential proposition according to the 3 treatises.	According to the <i>Taittirīya-Saṃhitā</i> and <i>Tāṇḍya-Brāhmaṇa</i>	According to the <i>Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa</i>
	Year-beginning	Year-beginning
	I. Ekāṣṭakā. consecration on; wife of the year. Disadvantages: (i) distress, (for it is very cold on the 8th day of the dark half of Māgha); (ii) last season. (for the month of Māgha belongs to the last season); (iii) reversed period (for the year ends with Māgha and begins in Māgha in a reversed way, the beginning and end falling in the same month). Therefore rejected.	I. Taiṣa (Pauṣa) } Pratipad (Śukla).
	II. Phalgunī fullmoon. Disadvantage: (i) Viṣuvat in Bhādrapada, therefore in rains.	II. Māgha Pratipad (Śukla).
	III. Citrā fullmoon, IV. 4 days before full- moon (may be Māgha or Caitra).	III. Caitra Pratipad (Śukla)

175. If we now look at the two different sorts of passages already quoted, the following points among others strike us at once.

Comparison between the *Taitt.-Sam.* and the *Kauṣ.-Br.*

I. Following up of the sun's course during the performance of the Gavām-ayana is the most important thing in the *Kauṣ.-Br.* It overshadows all other considerations. In the *Taitt.-Sam.* (and *Tāṇḍya.-Br.*), the sun's course is not described at all, its main object being to choose the most suitable date for beginning the Sattra and therefore the year. It is true that in both sets the advantages and disadvantages of the different dates are discussed and weighed, but the sun's course is indicated in the *Kauṣ.-Brāhmaṇa* alone.

The sun's course is the point of discussion in the *Kauṣ.-Br.*

II. The directions for commencing the sacrifices are much simpler in the *Kauṣītakh-Brāhmaṇa* than in the other two. It prescribes the same date, viz., the day after the amāvasyā in the months of Pauṣa, Māgha and Caitra. In the case of the other two works, two more dates are prescribed in addition to the two fullmoons of Phālguna and Caitra, viz. the 8th day of the dark half of Māgha (*Ekāṣṭakā*) and 4 days before the full moon (of Māgha or Caitra).

Directions regarding the beginning of the sacrifices are simpler in the *Kauṣ.-Br.*

III. Of the months mentioned by these treatises for the commencement of the sacrifice, the *Taitt.-Sam.* omits Pauṣa and the *Kauṣ.-Br.* Phālguna. But both the sets are of one opinion in regard to Caitra being the most suitable —but not in regard to the particular time of that month. The *Taitt.-Sam.* prefers *Pūrṇimā*, and the *Kauṣ.-Br.* Śukla Pratipad or a date 15 days afterwards. The omission of Pauṣa in the *Taitt.-Sam.* can be explained as due to the work having been composed before year-beginning in Pauṣa commenced at a later time. It only shows that the *Kauṣ.-Br.* was composed at a time much later than the *Taitt.-Sam.* But it is however difficult to explain the omission of Phālguna in the *Kauṣ.-Br.* as that month has been repeatedly referred to as suitable by the *Taitt.-Sam.* and other *Brāhmaṇas*.

The selection of months of sacrifice by the works.

IV. In contrast to the *Taitt.-Sam.* (and the *Tāṇḍya.-Br.*), the *Kaus. Br.* directly mentions the 13th month, thereby indicating

that the subject-matter of its special study was the intercalated year and framing of rules for performance of Gavām-ayana in that year. These rules must necessarily be different from those that were general. Th. noticed the fact, but not its full significance.

176. In the first chapter of the *Kaus.-Br.*, from which the passage has been quoted occurs the following:

पौर्णमासं प्रथमायै तन्त्रं भवत्यामावस्यां द्वितीयायै तेन हास्य दर्शपूर्णमासावरजौ
...भवतः यज्ञस्यैव समृद्धौ द्वादश दद्यादश वै मासाः संवत्सरः संवत्सरस्यैनाऽप्या
अश्वं ददाति यत्रयोदशो मासस्तस्याप्तै ॥ 1. 1

[The full moon offering is the model of the first (sacrifice) the new moon offering of the second;¹ thereby does he commence the new...and full moon (offerings). (So they serve) for the perfection of the sacrifice. Twelve (cows) should he give; the year has twelve months; verily (they serve) to make up the year. He gives a horse as thirteenth to make up the thirteenth month.²]

Thus, there were two principal days for offerings at the sacrifice:

- (1) one at the full moon;
- and, (2) one at the new moon.

It is needless to point out that both the offerings could not be made at one and the same sacrifice. The full moon offering should be taken as the model or general rule for Gavām-ayana, where no 13th month is necessary; and the new moon offering is but the one in an intercalated year with a 13th month, and the *Kaus.-Br.* deals with the same.

This is corroborated by the next passage (quoted) of the *Kaus.-Br.* which says—

त एतं त्रयोदशमधिकं मासमुपयन्त्येतावान् वै संवत्सरो यदेष त्रयोदश मास-
स्तत्रैव सर्वः संवत्सर आप्तो भवति ॥ XIX. 2

1 Two sorts of sacrifice, presumably one for ordinary and another for intercalated year, are indicated here.

2 Keith, *Rigveda Brāhmaṇas*, pp. 347-348

3 तावान् means in reality 'to that extent.'

[They obtain this thirteenth additional month; the year is as this thirteenth month; in it verily whole year is obtained.¹]

त्रयोदशं वा एतं मासमाप्नुवन्ति यद्विश्वजितमुपयन्त्येतावान् वै संवत्सरो यदेष त्रयोदशो मासस्तद्वैव सर्वः संवत्सर आसौ भवति तमाहुरेकाहः षडह इति । XXV. 11

[They obtain this thirteenth month in that they perform the *Viśvajit*; the thirteenth month is as great as the year; here verily the whole year is made up. Of it they say 'the six day (rite) is one day rite.'²]

The *Kauṣ-Br.* gives above a hint as to how the 13th month is obtained. It points out that *Viśvajit* in the *Sattra*, though one day rite, is to be considered here as a six day rite. 24 more days are necessary for making a full month. These are to be added to the very beginning of the *Sattra*, 12 days for *Dikṣā* and 12 days for *Upasads*, as T. has indicated at the time of his treatment of *Ekāṣṭakā*.³ In this way a full month is left out for intercalation.

177. *Phālguna* as well as *Caitra* full moon is mentioned by the *Kauṣ-Br.* *Taitt.-Sam.* as the month i.e. the beginning of the year. Therefore, if the purpose of the *Kauṣ-Br.* be treatment of intercalated years, the first month should be in *Māgha* or *Phālguna* full moons. But the *Kauṣ-Br.* instead gives the dates as *Śukla Pratipad* of *Pauṣa* or *Māgha* and *Caitra*.

There is no reason to think that the dates are arbitrarily fixed by the *Kauṣ-Br.* They are as valid as those given by the *Taitt.-Sam.* Therefore there must be sufficient reason for the discrepancy. It has already been pointed out⁴ that a change from one *Nakṣatra* epoch to another indicated the passing away of 2000 years more or less, and recession of a month. Therefore the recession of 15 days should be taken as passing away of 1000 years and the middle of a *Nakṣatra* epoch. A thousand years back from the full moon of *Māgha* or *Phālguna* is in reality *Śukla Pratipad* of *Pauṣa* or *Māgha*, to which is added *Śukla Pratipad* of *Caitra*. Thus the *Kauṣ-Br.* gives dates for sacrifice for intercalated years, later than those given in the *Taitt.-Sam.* by 1000 years.

The *Kauṣ-Br.* states that there was a preference for the month of *Pauṣa* for commencing the *Gavām-ayana*. The *Taitt.-Sam.*

1 Keith., *Rigveda Brāhmanas*, p. 452

2 Ibid., p. 493

3 Tilak, *The Orion*, p. 51: "The first twelve days of a *satra* are taken up in consecration and twelve more in *upasads* after which the regular *satra* sacrifice commences.

4 See para 142,

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and *Tāṇḍya Br.* speak of no such preference. The conclusion therefore becomes irresistible that the *Kauṣ.-Br.* is of a much later origin inasmuch as the month of Pauṣa indicates a year-beginning in a later Nakṣatra epoch. This preference for Pauṣa together with the next statement that 'they (thus) obtain the additional thirteenth (month)' indicates that the month of Pauṣa should be taken as the intercalary month, being reserved for some preliminary rites. Therefore, the real beginning of the year must be understood to be in Māgha. That is why the sun is said to rest on the new moon day of Māgha, but not of Pauṣa or Caitra. The Caitra beginning of the year, indicating an occurrence in a remote Nakṣatra epoch, stands by itself, and is not put together with Vaiśākha as alternative, perhaps because at that time 12 days, and not a month, were added to each year to convert it into a luni-solar one.

178. The *Taitt.-Sam.* and the *Tāṇḍya-Br.* refer also to the performance of the Sattrā in intercalated years. The indirect reference to but not directly like the *Kauṣ.-Br.* These two intercalation by the *Taitt.-Sam.* works speak of Phālguna and Caitra full moons as the mouth of the year, but not of Ekāṣṭakā or 4 days before the full moon as the mouth.

For convenience of reference, the English rendering of the portions that refer to 'Ekāṣṭakā' (at the beginning) and '4 days before the full moon' (at the end) are joined together and reproduced below:

"Those who are about to consecrate themselves for the year (sacrifice) should do so on the Ekāṣṭakā (day). The Ekāṣṭakā is the wife of the year; and he [i.e. the year] lives in her [i.e. the Ekāṣṭakā] for that night. (Therefore they) practically sacrifice (by) beginning the year. Those that sacrifice on the Ekāṣṭakā, sacrifice to the distressed (period) of the year. It is the season (dual) whose name comes last.

"They should consecrate themselves for the sacrifice four days before the full moon. Their Kraya [i.e. the purchase of Soma] falls on the Ekāṣṭakā. Thereby they do not render the Ekāṣṭakā void [i.e. of no consequence]. Their Sutyā [i.e. the extraction of Soma juice] falls in the first [i.e. the bright] half (of the month). Their months [i.e. monthly sacrifices] fall on the first half".¹

¹ See para 61

Normally, the *Taitt.-Sam.* is expected to place the beginning of the year in Pūrṇimā. Hence selection of the 8th day of the dark half of Māgha (and not the full moon of Māgha) is a deviation that requires explanation. All that is suggested in this portion is that the Ekāṣṭakā is the wife of the Year, who lives (or lingers as it were) in her that night. This is the longest night of the year and therefore the text indicates a year-beginning in winter solstice. There is no doubt that the general rule was that the year was to commence in Māghī full moon. The beginning of the year 7 days afterwards is indicative of a recession of about 500 years;¹ in other words, the year-beginning in Māghī full moon is equivalent to commencement of the Kṛttikā epoch, and the Ekāṣṭakā, as beginning of the year, occurred 500 years afterwards.

The *Taitt.-Sam.* does not however stop here. It enjoins the commencement of the sacrifice 4 days before the full moon of Māgha. Adding together these 4 days before the full moon and 8 days after the full moon of Māgha (Ekāṣṭakā), 12 days are obtained. These 12 days are then left out, presumably because they are intercalated from each year which begins properly after these 12 days.² This was before a full month was intercalated. Thus the *Taitt.-Sam.* and *Tāṇḍya-Br.* contain hints not only for intercalation but also for calculation of other dates during the prevalence of a Nakṣatra epoch.

179. It may now be concluded that Th.'s assertion that the *Taitt.-Sam.*, *Tāṇḍya-Br.* and *Kauṣ.-Br.* belong to the same period has been proved to be untenable. Further, his view that T. would have reached a different conclusion if he had taken notice of the passage of the *Kauṣ.-Br.* is mistaken. This *Brāhmaṇa* contains no evidence that the *Jyotiṣa-Vedāṅga* belonged to the same period as the said *Brāhmaṇa*. Sufficient has been indicated

Tilak is justified in holding that the year commenced in equinox in Vedic India.

1 The Kṛttikā epoch was nearly 2000 years long [see para 142]. It has been pointed out by T. that Aśvinī and Pauṣa, Kṛttikā and Māgha, and Mṛgaśīras and Phālguna, are pairs of successive year-beginnings, depending consecutively on the precession of the equinoxes [*The Orion*, p. 200]. So there is a recession of a month before the lapse of the epoch. Accordingly, a recession of 7 days or $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a month indicates 500 years after the epoch.

2 "The sacrificial literature of India still preserves the memory of these days by ordaining that a person wishing to perform a yearly sacrifice should devote 12 days (dvādashāha) before its commencement to the preparatory rites."—Tilak, *The Orion*, p. 16

above regarding the gap of the time between the different dates of year-beginning in the *Taitt.-Sam.* itself, and that between the *Taitt.-Sam.* and *Kaus.-Br.*

T.'s inference that year commenced in equinox in Vedic times is proved by the very nature of the Sattrā itself. For, an analysis of its component parts has shown that Gavām-ayana began in Viśuvat, i. e. the equinoctial point. Th. blundered in thinking that all the different dates mentioned by the *Taitt.-Sam.*, the *Tāndya-Br.* and the *Kaus.-Br.* one after another, prevailed at one and the same period, and their non-acceptance later was due to inconveniences for the performance of the rituals on particular dates. In reality, all the three treatises speak of different Nakṣatra epochs, clearly denoted by the different months—Pauṣa, Māgha, Phālguna and Caitra standing for Aśvinī, Kṛttikā, Mṛgaśīras and Punarvasu epochs respectively.

C. AN EXAMINATION OF BÜHLER'S STATEMENTS

180. B. is convinced by the arguments of J. and T. that the ancient Indo-Aryans were familiar not only with the Kṛttikā-series but also with the Mṛgaśīras-series, and that Mṛgaśīras in a much earlier time coincided with the vernal equinox as the Kṛttikā did in the later epoch. B. does not claim any mathematical preciseness for the theory of the two scholars, but he thinks that evidences adduced by them are so strong and cogent that no doubt is left about the possibility of the assumptions. Their discovery of a new foundation for Vedic chronology gives much satisfaction to B.

181. B. holds the view that in a vast country like India, the possibility of different reckonings of the year from different places at the same time should not be ruled out. To him however the question of year-beginning is of less importance than that of finding out the particular Nakṣatras through which the sets of colures passed, because that alone determined the antiquity or otherwise of the time mentioned. According to B., the latter question has been satisfactorily solved by J. and T.

While not denying the importance of the second problem, one cannot overlook the fact that year-beginning on different dates is a sure pointer to a definite period of a particular Nakṣatra epoch.

182. B. fixes the beginning of the Mṛgaśīras epoch at about 3800 B.C. J.'s Table shows the date to be 4420 B.C. B. subtracts more than 600 years from that figure in consideration of the mistake that might have crept into the calculations of the early astronomers. But this mistake might as well have taken place in the opposite direction. Thus according to B. the lower limit of Mṛgaśīras epoch is 3800 B.C. and the upper limit accepted by T. is about 5000 B.C.

Bühler's fixation of the time of Mṛgaśīras epoch at 3800 B. C. gives the lower limit.

183 B. has not the least doubt in his mind that the Kṛttikā-series was completely an Indian invention. Copious mentions of Kṛttikās at the head of Nakṣatras in different Vedic texts convince him about the same. But B. is not so sure about Mṛgaśīras-series. He is rather inclined to the view that this series was borrowed from other nations.

Bühler's view that Mṛgaśīras-series was of foreign origin is untenable.

As the *Brāhmaṇas* do not give the list of Nakṣatras anywhere with Mṛgaśīras at their head, B. might have been erroneously led to the conclusion that Mṛgaśīras-series was of foreign origin. The particular reason for placing Kṛttikās at the head of Nakṣatras might be due to the fact that the *Taitt.-Sam.* etc. were composed during the prevalence of that Nakṣatra epoch. This does not mean that the ancient Indo-Aryans were ignorant of the older Mṛgaśīras-series. On the other hand, the *R̥gveda* contains, as has been repeatedly shown, abundant references to the equinoctial year-beginning in the Mṛgaśīras epoch, which points to the existence once of a Nakṣatra-series with Mṛgaśīras at the head. No evidence has been cited by B. for his inference that the Mṛgaśīras-series was of foreign origin.

D. WINTERNITZ'S VIEW

184. Winternitz has also discussed in his *History of Indian Literature*, vol. 1, pp. 190 ff (1908) the problem of the age of the Veda, and has made certain observations which should be examined here.

Winternitz wants to fix 1100 B. C. or thereabout as the time when Vedic literature commenced.

Winternitz weighs some of the literary and astronomical statements of scholars to find out which of them may be acceptable. His references are to Friedrich Schlegel who expects from India nothing less than "enlightenment upon the history of the primitive

world, so dark until now;" to A. Weher who in 1852 wrote in his *History of Indian Literature* that "the literature of India passes generally for the most ancient literature of which we possess written records, and justly so;" and to Max Müller, who was first to attempt a reconstruction of chronology of the oldest Indian literature." Winternitz also mentions some of the pioneers who depended on astronomical data for establishing the chronology of the oldest Indian literature, such as Ludwig who based his conclusions on the eclipses of the sun; Jacobi and Tilak who state that at the period of the *Brāhmaṇas*, the Pleiades (Kṛttikās), the starting point of the Nakṣatra series, at the time coincided with the vernal equinox. In the Vedic texts, however, there are traces of an older calendar in which vernal equinox fell in Orion (Mṛgaśīras), while Jacobi alone speaks of the text referring to the antiquity of the Pole Star. Winternitz does not rule out the possibility of ancient Indian literature being dated 2000 or 2500 B. C., in consideration of the evidences found there. But he does not think that astronomy can be of help in this regard. On the other hand, he holds that attempts to determine the period of the Veda with the aid of astronomy have come to grief. Therefore, his advice is to steer clear of any fixed dates.

If however he had followed his own advice, he would not have tried to fix the date of Vedic literature at about 1100 B. C. He rejects not only all the astronomical findings of the scholars, but also literary evidences regarding the high antiquity of the Vedas. He forgets that astronomy may be as good an aid as literature for determining the age of the *R̥gveda*.

(6) THE POLE STAR

1. Jacobi

185. Two results followed, according to J., from the precession of the equinox, viz.,

The determination of time with the help of the Pole Star.

- (1) There was an alteration of the colures;
- (2) "along with the gradual alteration of the celestial equator its north (and south) pole continued to move in a circle of $23\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ semi-diameter in a period of about 26000 years round the fixed poles of the ecliptic. In this way, one star after another is drawn nearer the north pole and becomes the north or Pole Star."²

¹ $23\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$

² I. A., 1894, p. 157

J. distinguishes the Pole Star from the North Star thus: the bright star standing nearest the pole at any time is called the North Star; and the star whose distance from the pole is so slight that for all practical purposes, it may be called fixed (Dhruva) is the Pole Star.

The following table of North stars from 5000 B. C. till 2000 A. D. was prepared by J.

Name of the Star	Magnitude	Polar Distance	Year
α Draconis	3.0	4° 38'	4,700 B.C.
ado	3.3	0° 6'	2,780 B.C.
kdo	3.3	4° 44'	1,290 B.C.
β Ursae Minoris			
(Little Bear)	2.0	6° 22'	1,060 B.C.
ado	2.0	0° 28'	2,100 A.D.

Only two stars of the above can, according to J., be called Pole Stars, viz. α Draconis and α Ursae Minoris. The rest spin round a circle and could be easily observed. J.'s statement that it was only the Gr̥hya Sūtras which first mention the Pole Star as having a place in the Hindu ritual of marriage, and that it was a custom in vogue much anterior to the time of the Gr̥hya Sūtras,¹ can be properly comprehended only when the dates given above are borne in mind. The North Star which was in reality a Pole Star for a long time (about 2780 B.C. to 1500 B.C.) must have been, states J., none other than α Draconis.²

As α Draconis remained Dhruva during several centuries before and after 2800 B.C., the Sūtra must be referring to the Vedic period, states J.

2. Whitney

186. W. however sets no value by the above argument of J. He calls this a supporting evidence and cannot attribute to it greater value. "The mention of a polar star (dhruva, lit. 'fixed') by the Gr̥hya-Sūtras, solely and alone as something which a bride is to be taken out and made to look at on the evening of her wedding-day" does not prove J.'s thesis, according to W. Considering who the observers

Whitney attaches
no importance
to Pole Star.

1 The Sūtras seem to refer to Vedic period and the date conforms to the date derivable from the position of the colures.—See J.'s article in *I. A.*, 1894, pp. 157, 158

2 Alcor-Arundhati stands near Ursae Majoris and is shown to the bride. *I. A.*, 1894, p. 158

were and for what trifling purpose their observation was used, W. concludes that "any star not too far from the pole would have satisfied both the newly wedded woman and the exhibitor ; there is no need of assuming that the custom is one handed down from the remote period when α Draconis was really very close to the pole, across an interval of two or three thousand years, during which there is no mention of pole-star, either in *Veda* or in *Brāhmaṇa*."¹

3. Bühler

187. B. is of opinion that J. and T. have been able to prove that "some of the Hindu rites and sacrifices existed even before the time when the Kṛittika-series was invented, and were settled long before the year 2000 B.C." Bühler states that the Hindu rite of showing the Pole Star at marriage ritual is as old as the *Veda*. He states that the latter inference is supported by J.'s evidences regarding the connection of the Dhruva Nakṣatra or Pole Star with the ancient Vedic marriage ritual, a connection known through the Gṛhya-Sūtras but dating from very remote past.

B. admits on J.'s showing that there existed a real Pole Star for about 600 years (3100 B.C. to 2500 B.C.), and that during these years, the husband used to point it out to his bride and exhort her never to forsake her home, just as the star never changed its position.

B. states that J. might have added, that "in later times, even during the Vedic period, the motion of the pole-star had been observed by the Hindus. In the *Maitrāyaṇa-Brāhmaṇa Upanishad* the motion of the pole-star is mentioned as one of the many instances of mutability to which all terrestrial and celestial beings are subject."²

4. Winternitz

188. In discussing the Age of the *Veda*,³ Winternitz like B. refers to J. and T. for their opinion on the antiquity of the Vedic literature. Winternitz describes how J. arrived at 4500 B.C. to 2500 B.C. as the period during which Vedic civilisation flourished, and how J. confirms it by "a second astronomical observation," in the following way:

1 *I. A.*, 1895, p. 365

2 *I. A.*, 1894, p. 245 (S. B. E., XV includes this Upanishad,

3 M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. 1, (1927). pp. 290-310

'The Gṛhyasūtras tell us of a marriage-custom in ancient India, according to which the bride and bridegroom, after they had arrived at their new home, had to sit silently on the hide of a bull, till the stars became visible, whereupon the bridegroom showed his bride the *Pole star*, called *dhruva*, "the constant one", and at the same time uttered a prayer, as for example, "Be constant, prospering in my house," whereto she replied: "Constant art thou, may I be constant in the house of my husband." This marriage-custom in which a "constant star" figures as the symbol of unchangeable constancy, must have originated at a time in which a brighter star stood so near the celestial pole that it seemed, to the observers of that time, to be standing still. Now it is again a result of the precession that, with the gradual alteration of the celestial equator, its North Pole also moves away, describing in about 26,000 years a circle of $23\frac{1}{2}$ degrees radius around the constant pole of the ecliptic. By this means one star after another slowly moves towards the North Pole and becomes North Star or Pole Star; but only from time to time does a *brighter* star approach the Pole so closely, that it can, for all practical purposes, be regarded as "a constant one" (*dhruva*). At present [1927] Alpha, a star of the second magnitude, in the Little Bear, is the Pole Star of the Northern hemisphere. This star, of course, cannot be meant when the Pole Star is spoken of in Vedic times, because only 2000 years ago this star was still so far removed from the pole that it could not possibly have been designated as the "constant one". Not until 2780 B.C. do we meet with another Pole Star which merited this name. At that time Alpha Draconis stood so near to the Pole for over 500 years that it must have appeared immovable to those who observed with the naked eye. We must, then, place the origin of the name of *Dhruva*, as well as the custom of showing the "constant" star to the bride on her marriage evening as the symbol of constancy, into a period in which Alpha Draconis was Pole Star, that is, in the first half of the third millenary B.C."¹

189. Though in the above passage, Winternitz represents the view of J. very ably, he does not seem to subscribe to the same. He states that the most serious objection has been raised against Kṛttikas being in junction with the vernal equinox in ancient

times. On the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,¹ II, 1, 2, 3 depends the above theory. It is, according to Winternitz, wrongly interpreted as Pleiades "do not swerve from the East" i.e. they rose "due east" ("which would have been the case in the third millenary B.C., and would point to a knowledge of the vernal equinox"). He thinks that the correct interpretation should perhaps be that "they remain visible in the eastern region for a considerable time—during several hours—every night, which was the case about 1100 B.C."² He states that he cannot rule out the possibility of one of the lesser stars in the Little Bear having been visible (in 1250 B.C. or later still) as the Pole Star in the clear sky.

Winternitz gives credit to Prey of Prague University for finding out that in "about 1100 B. C. the *Pleiades* rose approximately 13° to the north of the east point, approaching nearer and nearer the east line, and crossing it as late as 2^h 11^m after their rise, at a height of 27°, when seen from a place situated at 25° North latitude. They thus remain almost due east long enough to serve as a convenient basis for orientation."³ Winternitz thinks that this interpretation is also supported by Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra, 27.5, where *Pleiades* is said not to depart from the eastern region. Winternitz does not deny that "about 2100 B.C. or 3100 B.C., the *Pleiades* touched the east line earlier, but they proceeded southward so rapidly that they were not suitable for orientation."⁴

1 Sankar B. Dikshit in the *I.A.*, 1895, pp. 245, 246 reproduces the passage.

एकं द्वे त्रिणि चत्वारि वा अन्यानि नक्षत्राण्यथैता एव भूयिष्ठा यत्कृत्तिकास्त-
 द्भूमानमेवैतदुपैति तस्मात् कृत्तिकास्वादधोत ॥२॥

एतो ह वै प्राच्ये दिशो न च्यवन्ते सर्वाणि ह वा अन्यानि नक्षत्राणि प्राच्ये
 दिशश्च्यवन्ते तत् प्राच्यमेवास्यैतद्दिश्याहितौ भवतस्तस्मात् कृत्तिकास्वादधोत ॥३॥

Dikshit's literal translation:

Certainly one, two, three, four: so [are] other *Nakṣatras*, and these only are many, which [are] *Kṛttikāḥ*: surely [he who consecrates the sacred fires on *Kṛttikāḥ*] gets that plenty of it; [one] should, therefore, consecrate [the sacred fires] on *Kṛttikāḥ*. These, certainly, do not deviate from the eastern direction. All other *nakṣatras* deviate from the eastern direction. His [two sacred fires] become consecrated in the very east. He should, therefore, consecrate [the fires] on *Kṛttikāḥ*.

Cf. Eggeling's trans. in *S.B.E.*, vol. XII, p. 282

2 Winternitz, *History*, p. 298

3 *Ibid.*, p. 298 fn.

4 *Ibid.*

EXAMINATION OF THE DIFFERENT VIEWPOINTS ON POLE STAR

190. It has already been stated that W. attaches little importance to J.'s theory that a particular star was ever called a pole star and denies that the observation of pole star by the married couple as pointed out by the *Gr̥hya-Sūtras* refers to a custom that was prevalent at about 3000 B.C. He holds that any star near to the pole was good enough to be the Pole Star provided it was not much further away. W. refuses to believe that the ancient Indo-Aryans did really have a custom of observing a particular star as Pole Star. According to him any star was good enough to be so shown.¹

According to Whitney, any star not much further away from Pole, served the purpose of the Pole Star.

It is true that the same star cannot be the pole star throughout the ages, that is to say that the pole star has a motion, however small, and changes its position, so that a new star becomes the pole star, after the lapse of hundreds of years.

191. B. is of opinion that J. has been able to establish the antiquity of the custom of showing the Pole Star to the bride by the bridegroom from Vedic literature.

Bühler supports Jacobi as against Whitney.

Winternitz does not think so. He attacks J.'s point of view from another direction. J. identifies the Pole Star with Alpha Draconis, which was shown, according to him, to the bride by the bridegroom in about 3000 B.C.² Winternitz is of opinion that this was not the case, for according to him, J. has not correctly interpreted the *Śatapatha-Brah̥maṇa*, II. 1, 2, 3, on which he bases his theory. Had this interpretation been correctly made, the time (i.e. 3000 B.C.) referred to by J. could have been accepted. J.'s whole theory falls through, according to Winternitz, due to his incorrect interpretation of the passage. Winternitz interpretes the passage to mean "they remain visible in the eastern region for a considerable time" and finds with the help of his astronomer that the event was possible only in 1100 B.C.

192. By the passage quoted in the footnote of para 189 Dikshīt understands that what is meant is that Kṛttikās were always seen due east, while other Nakṣatras were to the right or to the left of this point. "It means that in those days the Kṛttikāh

1 Cf. W.'s statement that any month was good enough to begin the year with in Vedic times.

2 See para 187.

were on the equator, or that their declination was nil, when the passage was composed."¹

On account of the precession of the equinoxes, the place of the Kṛttikās with reference to the equator, is not always the same.

"Taking the annual precession of the equinoxes to be 50°, and calculating roughly, I find that Tauri, the brightest star of the Pleiades, was on the equator about 2990 B.C. or, roughly speaking, in 3000 B.C." If the annual precession be less than 50°, the date would be earlier still. Dikshit

Dikshit is of opinion that 3000 B.C. is the date of the composition of the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*

therefore thinks that as the tense used is the present tense, the *Brāhmaṇa* or at least this passage was composed about 3000 B.C.²

193. Rāy supports the interpretation of the passage by Dikshit, and finds no reason to agree with Macdonell and Keith's assertion

that the aforesaid passage of the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* is untrustworthy. Rāy however does not agree with Dikshit, J. and T. that the date of composition of this *Brāhmaṇa* was 3000 B.C.

Rāy's interpretation of the passage of the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*.

According to him, the incident referred to might have happened on the date, for Pleiades remained fixed, as it were, in that position for nearly seven or eight hundred years (3300 B.C. to 2500 B.C.), but that does not necessarily indicate that 3000 B.C. was the date of composition of *Ś.-Br.* It was composed, according to Rāy, within the range of 3300 B.C. and 2500 B.C.³

194. A question may arise that if the custom of showing the Pole Star to a newly married bride was prevalent in India as long

The non-mention of Pole Star in the Veda and *Brāhmaṇa* does not vitiate its being known early to the Indo-Aryans.

ago as about 3000 B.C., why has not this fact been mentioned anywhere in the Vedas or the *Brāhmaṇas*? Its mention in the *Gṛhya-Sūtras*, which were much later compositions indicates, one should think, much later date, as suggested by Winternitz and other scholars.

The only reference to the fixity of a heavenly body is to the fixity of the Pleiades found in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*. Rāy points out that for nearly 800 years, Pleiades (Kṛttikā) was observed to rise in the east in the evening for 5½ months every year and that

1 *IA.*, 1895, p. 245

2 *Ibid.*, 1895, The age of the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, by Sankar B. Dikshit, pp. 245, 246

3 Jogesh Chandra Rāy, *Veder Devatā O Kṛttikā* (The gods of the Veda and the age of Vedic culture), 1361 B.S. pp. 43-53

it was natural for the people to take the star to be a fixed one during that period. It is to be presumed that before and after this star, other stars were found on the horizon and appeared fixed. If the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* speaks of a tradition earlier than 1100 B.C. (an appropriate date according to Winternitz), why should it not also refer, one may pertinently ask, to a tradition prevalent at an earlier date (say 3000 B.C. or so), when another star did not swerve from the east i.e. was the fixed star. There is no doubt that this statement of not swerving from the east is correct in reference to all earlier stars as well; and it seems that this cause more than any other was responsible for the selection of a particular star as the *mukham* or beginning of each star-series.

It is remarkable that modern treatises on astronomy also support the above statement. For instance, says Ball: "A complete journey of the Pole occupies the considerable period of about 25,867 years. The drawing shows the position of the Pole at the several dates from 4000 B. C. to 2000 A. D. A glance at this map brings prominently before us how casual is the proximity of the pole to the Pole Star. At present, indeed, the distance of the two is actually lessening, but afterwards the distance will increase until, when half of the revolution has been accomplished, the pole will be at a distance of twice the radius of the circle from the Pole Star. It will then happen that the pole will be near the bright star Vega or α Lyrae, so that our successors some 12000 years hence may make use of Vega for many of the purposes for which the Pole Star is at present employed. Looking back into past ages, we see that some 2,000 or 3,000 years B.C. the star α Draconis was suitably placed to serve as Pole Star,"...¹ The non-mention of Pole Star, as such, in the Veda is therefore no valid ground for thinking that it was unknown to the ancient Indo-Aryans.

In astronomical parlance, when the declination of *Mṛgaśīras* on the equator was nil, *Mṛgaśīras* was made to head the list of the *Nakṣatras*. In that case, each of the *Nakṣatras* that gives its name to the series, coincides with one of the equinoxes. Without this junction no *Nakṣatra* can lead, so to say, the other *Nakṣatras*, or be seen there at the year-beginning.

¹ *The Story of the Heavens* (revised ed., 1913), pp. 493, 494 by Sir Robert S. Ball, F.R.S., Lowndean Professor of Astronomy and Geometry in the University of Cambridge and Director of the Cambridge Observatory

The argument of Pole Star therefore as an evidence of the antiquity of the Vedic literature must be considered valid and J. given the credit of pointing out the same. The custom referred to in the *Gr̥hya-Sūtras* is a reminiscence of an earlier tradition prevalent before the Vedic times, and 3000 B. C. is a lower limit of those times.

CHAPTER 3

A. MANU'S ACCESSION

195. In considering the chronology of the ancient Aryan kings of India, it has been stated¹ that the accession of Manu, the progenitor of a race that ruled in India, was at about 4000 B. C. It was worked out in the following manner.

The accession to the throne by Candra Gupta Maurya is an historical event, and a landmark for determining the reigns of kings that preceded him. His date is 322 B. C. The dynasties that ruled before him and the durations of their reigns are given below :

1. 9 Nandas	100 years
2. 6 Śiśunāgas (from Bimbisāra to Mahānandin)	169 ² ..
3. 4 Śiśunāgas (Śiśunāga to Kṣatraujas)	}
4. 5 Pradyotas	
5. 22 Bṛhadrathas after Bhārata war	
6. 93 Kings before Bhārata War	
7. 1 Manu	
125 (adding 3 to 7) kings @ an average of 27 years ³ per king	3375 years
Total	3644 years
Add	322 years
Total	3966 years

So Manu's accession is held to have taken place in 3966 B. C. or say 4000 B. C.

¹ See my Presidential Address at the 19th Session of the Indian History Congress, held at Agra, 1956, p. 18.

² Based on historical as distinguished from traditional information.

³ The average of 27 years per king was arrived at by the analogy of the kings of First Dynasty of Babylon. Eduard Meyer, Sidersky, Goetze, Sidney Smith, Albright, Poebel and seven other prominent scholars agree that (eleven) kings of the dynasty reigned for 300 years. It turns out to be 27·27 years per king. I adopt this figure. 27 is given up as a matter of caution to cover the probable omissions of names. See A. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, vol. X (1954), pp. 171, 172.

B. SACRIFICE AS AN OLD INSTITUTION

196. Sacrifices performed by Manu are referred to in the following verses of the *Rgveda*.¹

Sacrifices of Manu are mentioned in the *Rgveda*.

In Maṇḍala I.

(1) आ नो वर्हो रिशादसो वरुणो मित्रो अर्यमा ।
सीदन्तु मनुषो यथा ॥

I, 26. 4

[Let Veruṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman sit down upon our sacred grass, as they did at the sacrifice of Manus.—vol. I, p. 68].

(2) मनुष्वदग्ने अङ्गिरस्वदङ्गिरो ययातिवत् सदने पूर्ववच्छुचे ।
अच्छु याह्या वहा दैव्यं जनमा सादय वर्हिषि यन्ति च प्रियम् ॥

I. 31. 17

[Pure Agni, who goes about (to receive oblations), go, in thy presence, to the hall of sacrifice, as did Manus, and Aṅgiras, and Yayāti, and others of old. Bring hither the divine personages; seat them on the sacred grass; and offer them grateful (sacrifice).—vol. I, p. 84].

(3) यं त्वा देवासो मनवे दधुरिह यजिष्ठं हव्यवाहन ।
यं कण्वो मेघ्यातिथिर्धनस्पृतं यं वृषा यमुपस्तुतः ॥

I. 36. 10

[Bearer of oblations, (thou art he) whom the gods detained, for the sake of Manu; whom, giver of wealth, Kaṇwa, the host of pious guests, has detained; whom Indra detained; and whom (now), some other worshipper has detained.—vol. I, p. 102].

(4) नि त्वामग्ने मनुर्दधे ज्योतिर्जनाय शश्वते ।
दीदेथ कण्व ऋतजात् उक्षितो यं नमस्यन्ति कृष्यः ॥

I. 36. 19

[Manu detained thee, Agni, (to give) light to the various races of mankind. Born for the sake of sacrifice, and satiated with oblations, thou, whom men reverence, hast blazed for Kanwa,—vol. I, p. 104].

1 The texts are all from Max Müller's edition of the *Rigveda Samhitā*. The translations consulted are Wilson's—vol. I (2nd ed. 1866), vol. 2 (1854), vol. 3 (1857), vol. 4 (1866), vol. 5 (1888) and vol. 6 (1888). Max Müller's remarks regarding sacrifice are worth quoting. It runs thus: "I do not mean to say that the sacrifice as such, was not as old and primitive an institution as sacred poetry itself".—Max Müller, *History*, p. 250

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(5) नि त्वा यज्ञस्य साधनमग्ने होतारमृत्विजम् ।

मनुष्वदेव धीमहि प्रचेतसं जीरं दूतममर्त्यम् ॥

I. 44. 11

[We place thee, Agni, as Manus placed thee, who art the implement of sacrifice, the invoker, the ministering priest, very wise, the destroyer (of foes), immortal, the messenger (of the gods).—vol. I, p. 120]

(6) यथा विप्रस्य मनुषो हविर्मिदं वै अयजः कविभिः कविः सन् ।

एवा होतः सत्यतर त्वमद्याग्ने मन्त्रया जुह्वा यजस्व ॥

I. 76. 5

[As, at the sacrifice of holy Manus, thou, a sage amongst sages, didst worship the gods with oblations, so, also, Agni, veracious invoker of the gods, do thou to-day (present the oblations) with an exhilarating ladle.—vol. I, p. 199].

(7) अग्ने तव त्यदुक्थ्यं देवेष्वस्त्याप्यम् ।

स नः सतो मनुष्वदा देवान्यक्षि विदुष्टरो वित्तं मे अस्य रोदसी ॥

I. 105. 13

[Worthy of praise, Agni, is that thy relationship (with the gods). Do thou, who art most wise, seated at our (solemnity), worship (the gods), as (at the sacrifice of) Manus.—vol. I, p. 273].

(8) सतो होता मनुष्वदा देवो अच्छा दिदुष्टरः ।

अग्निर्हव्या सुषृदति देवो देवेषु मेधिरो वित्तं मे अस्य रोदसी ॥

I. 105. 14

[May that wise and liberal Agni, a sage amongst the gods, seated at our rite, as at the sacrifice of Manus, be the invoker of the deities, and offer them oblations. Heaven and earth be conscious of this (my affliction).—vol. I, p. 274].

In Maṇḍala 2. (9) ज्ञेया भागं सहसानो वरेण त्वाद्दासो मनुवद्वदेम ।

अनूनमग्निं जुह्वा वचस्या मधु पृचे धनसा जोहवीमि ॥

II. 10. 6

[Overpowering (thy foes) with lustre, mayest thou recognize thy portion: may we, having thee for our messenger, recite (praise) like Manu: desiring wealth, I offer oblation with the sacrificial ladle and with praises, to that entire Agni, who rewards (the worshipper) with the sweet (fruit) of the sacrifice.—vol. 2, p. 229].

- In Maṇḍala 3. (10) यथायज्ञो होतमग्ने पृथिव्या यथा दिवो जातवेदश्चिकित्वान् ।
एवानेन हविषा यक्षि देवान् मनुष्वदयज्ञं प्र तिरेममद्य ॥

III. 17. 2

[As thou didst offer the burnt-offering, Agni, (on behalf of) earth, as thou, Jātavedas, who art cognizant (of sacred rites, didst offer sacrifice on behalf) of heaven; so with this oblation worship the gods, and perfect this rite today (as thou didst) that of Manu.—vol. 3, p. 18].

- In Maṇḍala 4. (11) त्र्युदायं देवहितं यथा वः स्तोमो वाजा ऋभुक्षणे
ददे वः ।

जुहो मनुष्वदुपरासु विक्षु युष्मे सचा बृहद्विषे सोमम् ॥

IV. 37. 3

[As the offering suited to the gods at the third (daily) sacrifice supports you, Vājas, R̥bhukshans; as the praise (then recited supports you); therefore, like Manu, I offer you the *Soma* juice, along with the very radiant (deities) among the people assembled at the solemnity.—vol. 3, pp. 193, 194].

- In Maṇḍala 5. (12) मनुष्वत्त्वा नि धोमहि मनुष्वत् समिधीमहि ।
अग्ने मनुष्वदङ्गिरो देवान् देवयते यज ॥

V. 21. 1

[Like Manu, we meditate, Agni, upon thee; like Manu, we kindle thee: worship the gods on behalf of the (worshipper), devout as Manu.—vol. 3, p. 266]

- In Maṇḍala 6. (13) युतानं वो अतिथिं स्वर्णरमन्निं होतारं मनुषः स्वध्वरम् ।
विप्रं न युक्तवचसं सुवृत्तिभिर्हव्यवाहमरतिं देवमृषसे ॥

VI. 15. 4

[Propitiate with pious praises the radiant Agni, your guest, the guide to heaven, the invoker of the gods (at the sacrifice) of Manu, the celebrator of holy rites, the speaker of brilliant words like a learned sage, the bearer of oblations (to the gods), the lord, the divine.—vol. 3, p. 404].

- (14) त्वं होता मनुर्हितो वहिरासा विदुष्टरः ।
अग्ने यक्षि दिवो विशः ॥

VI. 16. 9

[Thou hast been appointed by Manu, the invoker of the gods, the most wise bearer of oblations (to them) by thy mouth: worship, Agni, the people of heaven.—vol. 4, pp. 408, 409].

(15) श्रुष्टो वां यज्ञ उद्यतः सजोषा मनुष्वदृक्कवर्हिषो यजध्वे ।

आ य इन्द्रावरुणाविषे अद्य महे सुभ्राय मह आववर्तत् ॥

VI. 68. 1

[Mighty Indra and Varuṇa, promptly has the *Soma* returned, engaged conscientiously (with the priests) to offer sacrifice to you to obtain food for him by whom, like Manu, the sacred grass has been clipped: he who (invited you hither) today for exceeding happiness.—vol. 4, p. 14].

(16) इलेन्यं वो असुरं सुदक्षमन्तर्दूतं रोदसी सत्यवाचं ।

In Maṇḍala 7.

मनुष्वदग्निं मनुना समिद्धम् समध्वराय सदमिन्महेम ॥

VII. 2. 3

[Let us ever worship the Agni, who is to be adored by us, the mighty, the dextrous, the messenger passing between heaven and earth, the speaker of truth, kindled (of old) by Manu, as now by men, that (he may come) to the solemnity.—vol. 4, p. 33].

(17) त्विच्छिदक्तोः प्र चिकितुर्वसूनि त्वे अन्तर्दाशुषे मर्याय ।

मनुष्वदम् इह यज्ञि देवान् भवा नो दूतो अभिशस्तिपावा ॥

VII. 11. 3

[In thee, Agni, thrice in the day, (the priests) make manifest the treasures (of the oblation) for the (benefit of the) mortal donor: worship the gods on this occasion, Agni, as (thou didst) for Manu: be our messenger, our protector against malignity.—vol. 4, p. 48].

(18) यद्वा यज्ञं मनवे संमिमिक्षुरेवेत् कारवस्य बोधतम् ।

In Maṇḍala 8.

बृहस्पतिं विश्वान् देवाँ अहं हुव इन्द्राविष्णु अश्विनावाशुहेषसा ॥

VIII. 10. 2

[In like manner, as you have prepared, Aświns, the sacrifice for Manu, consent (to prepare it) for the son of Kanwa; for I invoke Bṛhaspati, the universal gods, Indra and Viṣṇu, and the Aświns with rapid steeds.—vol. 4, p. 261].

(19) यो हव्यान्यैरयता मनुर्हितो देव आसा सुगन्धिना ।

विवासते वार्याणि स्वध्वरो होता देवो अमर्त्यः ॥

VIII. 19. 24

[The divine (Agni), established by Manu, the offerer of the sacrifice, the invoker (of the gods), the divine, the immortal, who conveys the oblations in his fragrant mouth, bestows (upon the adorers) desirable (riches).—vol. 4, p. 294].

- (20) उशना काव्यस्त्वा नि होतारमसादयत् ।
 आयजि त्वा मनवे जातवेदसम् ॥

VIII. 23. 17

[Uśanas, the son of Kavi, has established thee, Jātavedas, as the ministrant priest, thee, as the offerer of sacrifice, for Manu—vol. 5, p. 17].

- (21) वयं वो वृक्वर्हृषो हितप्रयस आनुषक् ।
 सुतमोमासो वरुण हवामहे मनुष्वदिद्वामयः ॥

VIII. 27. 7

[Bearing the clipt sacred grass, offering in due order the (sacri-ficial) food, presenting the effused *Soma* and having the fires kindled, we invoke you, Varuṇa, (and the rest) as did Manus.—vol. 5, p. 29].

- (22) यदद्य सूर उदिते यन्मध्यन्दिन आनुचि ।
 वामं धत्थ मनवे विश्ववेदसो जुह्वानाय प्रचेतसे ॥

VIII. 27. 21

[Gods), who are possessed of all wealth, bestow the desired (opulence) upon the intelligent Manu, offering oblations to you at sunrise, mid-day and sunset.—vol. 6, p. 31].

- In Maṇḍala 9. (23) यथापवथा मनवे वयोधा अमिहह वरिवोविद्विष्मान् ।
 एवा पवस्व द्रविणं दधान इन्द्रे सं तिष्ठ जनयायुधानि ॥

IX 96. 12

[As thou didst flow to Manu possessing food, slaying enemies, acquiring wealth, having oblations, so now flow bringing us riches; abide thou in Indra; make manifest (thy) weapons.—vol. 6, pp. 367, 368].

- In Maṇḍala 10. (24) एहि मनुदेवयुयत्नकामोऽरंकृत्या तमसि क्षेप्यमे ।
 सुगान् पथः कृणुहि देवयानान् वह हव्यानि सुमनस्यमानः ॥

X. 51. 5

[(The gods): Come Agni, the devout Manu (is) desirous of offering sacrifice; adorning thyself, thou abidest in darkness; make straight the paths traversed by the gods; and with a benevolent mind convey our oblations.¹—vol. 6, p. 137].

1 In this hymn, Agni and Viśvadevas, alternately in the even and odd verses, are speaking. Agni seems to be fleeing in fear of hotr., and gods make him fearless and grant him his desire so that he may come to the sacrifice of Manu.

(25) उत त्या मे रौद्रावर्चिमन्ता नासत्याविन्द्र मूर्तये यजथ्यै ।

मनुष्वद्रुक्त्वहिषे रराणा मन्दू हितप्रयसा विन्तु यज्यू ॥

X. 61. 15

[And, Indra, let these two brilliant sons of Rudra, the Nāsatyas, (be present) at my praise and sacrifice; being propitious to (me seated) on the strewn grass, as (at the sacrifice of) Manu, cheerful, liberal of wealth to the people, deserving of adoration.—vol. 6, p. 161].

(26) येभ्यो होतां प्रथमामायेजे मनुः समिद्धाग्निर्मनसा सप्त होतृभिः ।

त आदित्या अभयं शर्म यच्छत सुगा नः कर्त सुपथा त्वस्तये ॥

X. 63. 7

[Ādityas, to whom Manu, having kindled the fire, offered the first sacrifice with (reverent) mind (aided) by the seven ministrant priests, do you bestow upon us prosperity, free from peril; provide for us pleasant paths easy to travel for our well-being.—vol. 6, p. 169].

(27) तिलो देवीर्वहिरिदं वरीय आ सीदत चक्रमा वः स्योनम् ।

मनुष्वद्यज्ञं सुधिता हवींषीळा देवी घृतपदी जुषन्त ॥

X. 70. 8

[Sit down, you three goddesses, upon this broad *Barhis*, we have spread it out for you; Ilā, radiant (Saraswati) and bright-footed (Bhārati), accept our sacrifice and well-presented oblations as if they were Manu's—vol. 6, p. 193].

(28) तदिद्धयस्य सवनं विवेरपो यथा पुरा मनवे गातुमश्रेत् ।

गोअर्णसि त्वाष्ट्रे अश्वनिर्णिजि प्रेमध्वरेष्वध्वराँ अशिश्रयुः ॥

X. 76. 3

[May this (sacrificial) work of this grinding-stone, the effusion of the *Soma*, spread as it went formerly along the path to Manu; when the son of Twashtri, hidden by the (stolen) cows, and assuming the form of a horse, (was to be slain), the worshippers had course at the sacrifices to the inviolable (upper grinding-stone),—vol. 6, pp. 206, 207].¹

1 Cf. the following

मनुर्ह वा अग्रे यज्ञेनेजे तदनु कृत्येमाः प्रजा यजन्ते तस्मादाह मनुष्वदिति
मनोर्यज्ञ इत्यु वा आहुः ॥

Śatapatha, Br., I. 5. 1. 7

'Like as Manu (did), like as Bharata';—Manu, indeed, worshipped with sacrifice in olden times, and doing as he did these descendants of his now sacrifice; therefore he says 'like as Manu'. Or, say they, (it means) 'at the sacrifice of Manu', and therefore he says 'as (he did) with Manu'.

J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (S.B.E. vol. xii) (Transl.), pt. I. p. 133

197. The above verses may be arranged in two broad groups, viz. (1) those that indicate that Manu's sacrifice took place at the time of or a little earlier than the composition of the verses, and (2) those that indicate that they were composed many generations after Manu's sacrifice. This points to the chronological sequence of the sacrifices by Manu or other kings after him from about 4000 B. C. downwards.

Sacrifices thus existed before the time of Manu as evidenced by the developed stage at which we find them during the period. The use of the term Darśa-pūrṇamāsa¹ and Atirātra (a ritual connected with Sattra) indicates that at the time of the *R̥gveda*, sacrifices reached a developed stage. Moreover, the whole of the 9th Maṇḍala of the *R̥gveda* is devoted to the delineation of the Soma sacrifice. The verse no. 23 (Rv., IX.) mentioned above contains a prayer to the Soma for flowing towards the performer of the sacrifice as it had done in the past towards Manu. All this can only mean that sacrifice was an institution older than the *R̥gveda* itself.

Gradually, sacrifices occupied a very important place in the religious practices of ancient Indo-Aryans. A close connection was early established between the sacrifices and heavenly bodies,—the sun, the moon and the Nakṣatras. In paras 148-150, the nature of the important role played by the 27 asterics in connection with the religious life of the people has been described in detail.

B. THE INDIAN ORIGIN OF NAKṢATRAS

198. The question naturally arises as to whether the Nakṣatras of the Vedas were indigeneous or borrowed. M. Discussion which continued for a long period centred round the question as to whether the Indo-Aryans had borrowed the conception of 27 Nakṣatras from any other country. has examined the problem elaborately and come to the definite conclusion that the Nakṣatras were absolutely of Indian origin.² Had this conclusion been otherwise, in other words had the Nakṣatras been proved to be of foreign origin, then possibly the different kinds of sacrifices, the gods worshipped at these sacrifices and the hymns repeated at

1 "There are several hymns which contain allusions to the Darśapūrṇamāsa, the famous New and Full Moon sacrifices. These sacrifices in themselves may have been of the greatest antiquity, as old as any attempt at a regulated worship of the gods".—Max Müller, *History*, p. 253

2 Preface to the *R̥gveda Text.*, ed. by Max Müller, vol. IV (1862), pp. xxviii-lxxi

annual festivals would have all become borrowed. And if the source be Chinese from which the ancient Indian astronomy was borrowed, as suggested by Biot, W. and some others, all our received ideas on the earliest history of mankind would be upset.¹

Biot (1774-1862), an eminent French astronomer, was a great advocate of Chinese origin of Indian Nakṣatras. According to him, the original number of the Nakṣatras was 28. Reduced afterwards to 27, they did not represent the 27 divisions of the ecliptic at first and had no connection with the course of the moon. Lassen² supports Biot's views that Chinese Nakṣatras were introduced to India in the 14th century B. C. As the Chinese stars were however only 24 in number, he overcomes this difficulty by stating that the Chinese principle was adopted in the 14th century and the number was not raised to 27 till 1100 B. C.

Hardwick³ also was of the same opinion. In a review⁴ of Hardwick's book shortly afterwards, M. protested against the theory of foreign origin of Indian Nakṣatras. He pointed out that astronomy, particularly the subject of Nakṣatras, is most intimately connected with the religious writings of the Veda, that Hindu sacrifice could not have been properly performed without a knowledge of the lunar mansions, and that no month could have received its present appellation without names being first given to those constellations from which the months derived their titles.

"The Nakṣatras are mentioned in the ancient songs of the Veda. Thus RV. (I. 50. 2) has 'like thieves the Nakṣatras (the stars) depart every night, before the sun who illuminates everything.' Here it might be said that Nakṣatra signified stars in general, and not the twenty-seven constellations rendered important by the passage of the moon. But it is in connexion with the moon, and therefore with an allusion to an equally divided lunar zodiac, that the Nakṣatras are mentioned in the Veda. 'Soma, or the moon,' it is said, in a hymn of the tenth Maṇḍala (X, 85, 2) 'is placed in the lap of the Nakṣatras'.

Max Müller answers, and disproves the Chinese origin of the Indian list of Nakṣatras.

1 *Ibid.*, p. xxxviii

2 Lassen, *Indian Antiquities*, p. 747

3 Hardwick, *An Historical Inquiry into some of the chief Parallelisms and Contrasts between Christianity and the Religious Systems of the Ancient World*, 1855-1858, pp. 7, 8

4 Max Müller, *Preface to the R̥gveda Text*, vol. IV, p. xl

The moon is called the month-maker, *māsakrid*, in the first book of the *Rig-veda*, at least according to one of the commentators ; and one of the principal sacrifices, mentioned in the ceremonial portion of the *Veda*, is that of the Full and New moon. The exact time of these lunar festivals is fixed with such minute accuracy, that the Hindus, at the time when these public sacrifices were established, or at least when they were regulated by the sacred institutions of the *Brāhmaṇas*, must have been considerably advanced in astronomy ; and the base of their ancient astronomy was the zodiac of the lunar *Nakshatras*.¹

The fact that the moon and the month are synonymous terms in the dialects of ancient Aryan family leads M. to suggest that the division of the year into lunar months must have been made when the Aryan family had not separated. M. points out at the same time, however, that the name of each month is particularly Indian and found in Sanskrit only, and that as Indian months are all derived from *Nakṣatras* which again had been derived from ancient Vedic deities, so the conclusion becomes irresistible that the *Nakṣatras* were Indian in origin.

If there had been any borrowing, it was the Chinese who borrowed from the Indians, according to M., for no Chinese dictionary is able to explain how the following names of Indian *Nakṣatras* got into the list of Chinese *Sieu*: *Pehoua-Pauṣa*, *Makue-Māgha*, *Pholkuna-Phālguna*. M. therefore thinks that the natural conclusion should be that they were borrowed by the Chinese². A reference to Chinese history corroborates, according to M., this conclusion. For, the emperor *Tsin-Chu-houng* who reigned in China after *Hans* dynasty in 206 B. C. destroyed Chinese literature, including astronomy³. It is therefore not possible to indicate the state of astronomical knowledge before that date, not to speak of its being borrowed by India.

M. also dismisses the idea that Greeks had any influence on the ancient Hindu astronomy. Words decidedly of Greek character found in Sanskrit must be of very late date, say after intercourse was established between India and Greece after Alexander's invasion, states M.⁴

1 *Ibid.*, xl

2 *Ibid.*, p. xli,

3 *Ibid.*, p. xliii

4 *Ibid.*, pp. xliii, xliv

199. In spite of the above review by M., Biot persisted in his theory, and soon won the approval of W. who changed it a little. According to W. the 24 Chinese stars were not directly imported from China, but the whole system with 28 Nakṣatras came to India not much later than 1100 B.C. (Sūrya-Siddhānta, pp. 201-203)¹.

Biot persists in holding his theory and is supported by Whitney.

Max Müller shows why Biot and Whitney cannot be accepted.

200. M. rejects W.'s theory of indirect import of the stars of China, as well as Weber's theory of Babylon being the common source from which both China and India borrowed.²

In order to understand the Hindu astronomy properly, it is necessary, according to M., to bear in mind the three following fundamental facts:

(I) The moon's passage, i.e., its sidereal motion suggested to Hindus the number of Nakṣatras to be 27.³ M. offers the following explanation as to why the moon's position was given so much importance in those early days.

"Nothing was more natural for the sake of counting days, months and seasons, than to observe the twenty-seven places which the moon occupied in her passage from any point of the sky back to the same point. It was far easier than to determine the sun's position from day to day, or from month to month, for the stars being hardly visible at the rising and setting of the sun, the idea of the sun's conjunction with certain stars could not suggest itself to a listless observer. The moon, progressing from night to night, and coming successively in contact with certain stars, was like the finger of a clock, moving round a circle, and coming in contact with one figure after another."⁴

2) The Nakṣatras were intended to mark certain equal divisions of the heavens. Their number being 27, each covered $13^{\circ} 20'$ ($360^{\circ} \div 27$).

3) The number of Nakṣatras was originally, and in one sense always, 27 and not 28.⁵

1 *Ibid.*, xlv

2 *Ibid.*, p. xlv-xlvi

3 *Ibid.*, p. xlv

4 *Ibid.*, pp. li, lii

5 *Ibid.*, p. xlvii

201. Weber (*Nakṣatras*, p. 320) discovered a thorough analogy or even identity of both the Chinese and the Indian systems which are unacceptable to M. for the following reasons:

Max Müller
quotes authori-
ties.
Weber.

1) The Chinese Sieus were originally 24 in number, raised afterwards to 28, whereas the number of Indian Nakṣatras was 27. No trace can be found anywhere in the Indian literature of a change similar to what took place in China.

2) The Sieus are all single stars, whereas the Indian Nakṣatras are mostly groups or clusters of stars.

3) If the Hindus were really the pupils of the Chinese, the whole of 28 sieus would have been borrowed by India, and not a portion only as is suggested by Biot.¹

202. A passage from Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, II, 447 is quoted by M. in support of his own theory.² Bentley. Bentley also thinks that an attempt to identify Chinese sieus with Indian Nakṣatras is futile, specially because the lunar mansions of the Hindus invariably contain 13° 20' each, whereas those of the Chinese are of various extent from a few minutes to 30° and upwards.³

203. M. admits that the exact number of Nakṣatras, though frequently mentioned in the *Brāhmaṇas*, is not definitely stated in the Chandas or Mantra period. In the list of names of the Nakṣatras and their deities in the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā*, (IV. 4. 10) or in the *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*, (I. 5. 1. 27) Nakṣatras are found, but no mention is made of the Nakṣatra Abhijit. The *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* (IV. 2. 1. 6) gives the name of the Nakṣatra for the first time.⁴ All this leads M. to deny foreign influence on the nomen-

Max Müller
denies foreign
influence on the
nomenclature
of Nakṣatras.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. xlviii, xlix

² The passage runs thus:

"The Hindus had undoubtedly made some progress at an early period in the astronomy cultivated by them for the regulation of time. Their calendar, both civil and religious, was generated chiefly, not exclusively, by the moon and the sun; and the motions of these luminaries were carefully observed by them and with such success, that their determination of the moon's synodical revolution, which was what they were principally concerned with, is a much more correct one than the Greeks ever achieved. They had a division of the ecliptic into twenty-seven and twenty-eight (?) parts, suggested evidently by the moon's period in days, and seemingly their own; it was certainly borrowed by the Arabians." *Ibid.*, p. xlix

³ *Ibid.*, p. li.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. lvi-lxvii

clature of Indo-Aryan Nakṣatras. He goes further and declares that the "spring-heads of the thought, of the language, and of the poetry of India, rise from the depths inaccessible to foreign tributaries, and the earliest course may be followed step by step with greater accuracy than in the case of the early history of any other nation."¹

It is to be added that the view expressed by M. is correct inasmuch as the existence of sacrifice as an established institution at the time of Manu at about 4000 B. C. corroborates the antiquity of the Indian Nakṣatras, for the timing of the sacrifices was connected with the moon and the stars.

C. THE ART OF WRITING IN ANCIENT INDIA

1. Max Müller

204. M. poses the question, "Was the collection of the ten books of Vedic hymns the work of persons cognisant of the art of writing or not? Were 1017 hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, after they had been gathered into one body, preserved by memory, or on paper?"²

Writing was unknown before the time of Pāṇini (Max Müller).

Both in his *History*³ and *Preface* to his edition of Vedic texts,⁴ M. expresses the opinion that before the time of Pāṇini, and before the spread of Buddhism in India, "Writing for literary purposes was absolutely unknown." M. advances the following reasons for his theory:

1) Historically, it has been found that the preservation of truly national poetry of principal nations of antiquity was everywhere due to the unaided efforts of memory.⁵

2) "Where writing is known, it is almost impossible to compose a thousand hymns without bringing in some such words as, writing, reading, paper or pen. Yet there is not one single allusion in these hymns to anything connected with writing."⁶ As evidence, M. quotes from *The Old Testament*, and the *Psalms* which indicate knowledge of writing on the part of the Jews. A comparison is made with the Homeric poems which do not contain a single mention of writing, though after Homer, "writing was a common acquirement of the educated classes of Greece,"⁶ and

1 *Ibid.*, pp. lxx, lxxi

2 Max Müller, *History*, p. 257

3 *Ibid.*, p. 262

4 Max Müller, *Preface to the Ṛgveda Samhitā* (Text), vol. IV, p. lxxxi

5 Max Muller, *History*, p. 257

6 *Ibid.*, p. 258

Greece used to import paper from Egypt. According to M., "the total absence of any allusion to writing may safely be supposed to prove the absence of the art at the time when that literature arose." Nor does he find any allusion to writing during the whole of the Brāhmāṇa period.¹ In his opinion, even during the Sūtra period, "The whole literature of India was preserved by oral tradition only."²

3) M. finds further corroboration of his theory in the fact that in ancient India the only occupation of people of the three high castes was the study of the Vedas for 12 years by those who wanted to marry and 48 years by those who remained celibates.³ M. describes the way the Veda was learnt. According to him long years were necessary in order that the sacred songs might be preserved and guarded against loss and corruption.⁴ Every event of the life of a Brāhmin, he states, is depicted in the *Gṛhya-sūtrās* but not a word is found in them about his learning to write.

M. therefore concludes that the hymns of the *Rgveda* and other Vedic literature were carried from generation to generation by oral tradition.

2. Wilson

205. Wilson is also almost of the same view. "This is the more remarkable, as there can be little doubt that the hymns were taught, originally, orally, and that the knowledge of them was perpetuated by the same mode of tuition."⁵ He mentions several characteristics of these hymns, such as their very construction; abundance of elliptical phrases; use of general epithets whose application, unless explained, is far from obvious; brief comparisons that cannot be appreciated until supplied by a competent leader; the innumerable blanks and deficiencies that make the text of the Vedas unintelligible in many places which the Scholiast alone can fill up with greater or less fidelity according to what he has received as tradition. The consideration of the above facts

Wilson gives reasons for holding the same view.

1 Max Müller mentions Wolf (Prolegomena, lxx-lxxiii) as declaring that prose composition is a safe sign of a written literature, but M. holds that it is not so in the case of India.

2 Max Müller, *History*, p. 259

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 259, 260

4 *Ibid.*, p. 261

5 *Rgveda Samhita*, a collection of ancient Hindu Hymns. The first Aṣṭaka or Book of Rigveda (Tr.), *Preface*, pp. xviii, xix

leads Wilson to believe that a living teacher or commentator was indispensable to right understanding of the meaning of the Sūktas from the moment of their first communication, and that the probability is in favour of an oral instructor.¹

3. Bühler

206. B. has considered the whole question from Paleographical point of view. At the outset, he admits that in this respect the orthodox as well as heterodox sects of India are of one opinion, viz. that writing or at least the chief script is very old in India. Al Beruni is referred to as stating that Hindus once knew the art of writing, but forgot it somehow, till through divine inspiration Vyāsa, the son of Parāśara, rediscovered the same. If this view were correct, then B. has to push back the Indian alphabets to the beginning of Kaliyuga in 3101 B. C. in deference to Al Beruni.²

Bühler is prepared to push back the date of the writing to 1000 B. C. which might be modified on further explorations.

B. does not attach any importance to this tradition. He finds that the Brāhmī script, which is adopted by the alphabets of the most of the dialects of India, has its origin in North Semitic signs, which again appear in the archaic Phoenician inscriptions³. As to the time when India borrowed this script, B. is of the view that elaboration of the alphabets was completed in 500 B. C. or earlier still, and the *terminum a quo* is about 800 B. C. B. is careful enough to state that the above estimate was a provisional one, which may be modified by discovery of new epigraphic documents in India or the Semitic countries. At the time when B. made the above statement, Marshall's discoveries in Mohenjo Daro had not begun and nobody could think that a script dating between 4000 and 3000 B. C. would be met with. How prophetic therefore B. seems to be when he made the following utterances in connection with the same topic: "If such a modification should become necessary, the results of the recent finds induce one to believe that the date of the introduction will prove to fall earlier, and that it will have to be fixed perhaps in the tenth century B. C. or even before that."⁴

1 *Ibid.*, p. xix

2 G. Bühler, *Indian Paleography from about B.C. 350 to A.D. 1300*.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 15

4 *Ibid.*, p. 17

Our Viewpoint**RE. WRITING IN ANCIENT INDIA**

207. In spite of an emphatic assertion that Vedic Indo-Aryans did not know the art of writing, M. refers to teaching at the time of the *Rgveda* in the following manner. M. states that writing or even teaching is not mentioned in the primitive poetry of Chandas

period, and that the earliest allusion to oral teaching occurs in a *Rgvedic* hymn that is ascribed by Max Müller, Wilson and Bühler on writing in early times. him to the Mantra period,—Hymn VII. 103 (Frog Song). He states that in a satirical verse on the Vasiṣṭhas (VII. 103. 5) the frogs are compared with Brāhmaṇas teaching their pupils: "one frog repeats the words of another, like a pupil who repeats the words of his teacher. No similar allusion to writing is to be found even in the latest hymns, the so-called *Khilas*."¹ The verse runs as follows:

यदेषामन्यो अन्यस्य वाचं शाजस्येव वदति शिञ्जमाराः ।

सर्वे तदेषां समृध्वेव पर्वे यतसुवाचो वदथनावधप्सु ॥

Rv. VII. 103.5

[When one of you imitates the croaking of another as a learner (imitates) his teacher, when, loud crying, you converse (leaping) upon the waters, then the entire body is as it were developed].²

In regard to knowledge of the art of writing on the part of ancient Indo-Aryans, Wilson, as we have seen, speaks of a *probability* in favour of an oral instructor, because that would be most in harmony with the unconnected and unsystematic "currency of the hymns." He further restricts his proposition by adding, "with the restricted use of writing,—even if the art were known in those early times (a subject of considerable doubt)".³ What Wilson means to state is that even if writing were known in those ancient times, the oral instructor would have been indispensable. He does not completely rule out the idea of writing being known at the time.

Had B. lived to see the discoveries of Mohenjo Daro, it is probable that he would have placed the invention of writing at a much earlier period.

1 Max Müller, *History*, pp. 261, 262

2 Wilson, *Rgveda*, Trnsl. vol. 4, p. 203

3 *Ibid.* Preface, p. xix

208. In this connection, the following two points should also

The vast Vedic literature, specially its prose portion, and familiarity with script by Mohenjo Daro people incline us to push back the date to 4000 B.C.

be duly considered so as to come to a right conclusion as to whether or not the ancient Indo-Aryans used writing as an art for literary purposes:

I. As far as the hymns of the *Rgveda* are concerned, it is possible that they used to be sung and handed down from generation to generation at the beginning. But when the Mantra period arrived the songs must have grown in volume (more than 1000 hymns as we have them now), and it naturally became more and more difficult to preserve this vast lore intact. Further, when the Brāhmaṇa period emerged, and a vast prose literature including one that contained details about sacrifices appeared, it could not be expected to endure without being written down. We shall therefore be not wrong if we suppose that writing was introduced in the times of the Brāhmaṇa period, if not earlier.

II. The discovery of Indus script has further strengthened the hands of those who think that writing was known to Indo-Aryans long before 1000 B.C. Indeed, it is not conceivable that people on one side of the Indus were conversant with this art and those on the other side were not. The inference should rather be the contrary.

209. It is difficult to understand why M. does not accept Wolf's theory,¹ that prose composition of a people is a sure sign of a written literature, specially when the extant vedic prose composition is so vast. No conclusion either way is permissible from a non-mention of writing in the Vedic literature. Its existence must be inferred from other evidences, particularly as the custom with the Rgvedic poets is not to mention directly an important event such as year, seasons, intercalation, etc. Of course it is not denied that the form of the script used for writing the *Rgveda* and other Vedic literature may be more archaic, but there is no doubt that it was the forerunner of the present script.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

¹ See para 207 (fn. at p. 197)

A Few Opinions

Prof. M. Winternitz.—It is full of highly interesting and important matter, and keeps up a high standard of scholarship..... It promises to become a great help to all students of Indian History.

Prof. H. Jacobi.—I have perused your quarterly with great interest..... I may have occasion to contribute to it now and then.

Prof. J. Jolly of Germany.—I entertain a very high opinion of the Quarterly.

Dr. E. J. Thomas.—The Indian Historical Quarterly has always attracted me as being one of the most interesting Oriental Journals and I realise how much this depends on wise editorship. I think you are doing a great work in helping and stimulating oriental scholarship in India.

Prof. Sylvain Levi.—Congratulate you on the truly 'national' work you are doing for Mother India. Your Quarterly is the best evidence of the wonderful progress accomplished by Indian scholars in these last years, a progress that I followed with a sincere joy.

Dr. Otto Strauss.—I am very well pleased with your Journal and I hope it will be as interesting and successful as the bygone years.

Mm. Dr. H. P. Sastri, Hony. Member. Royal Asiatic Society: The Quarterly is becoming more and more useful, more and more learned. You deserve the thanks of the Indian public by focussing so many eminent writers in your Quarterly..... I am reading all Oriental Journals, and about India yours is the most informing.